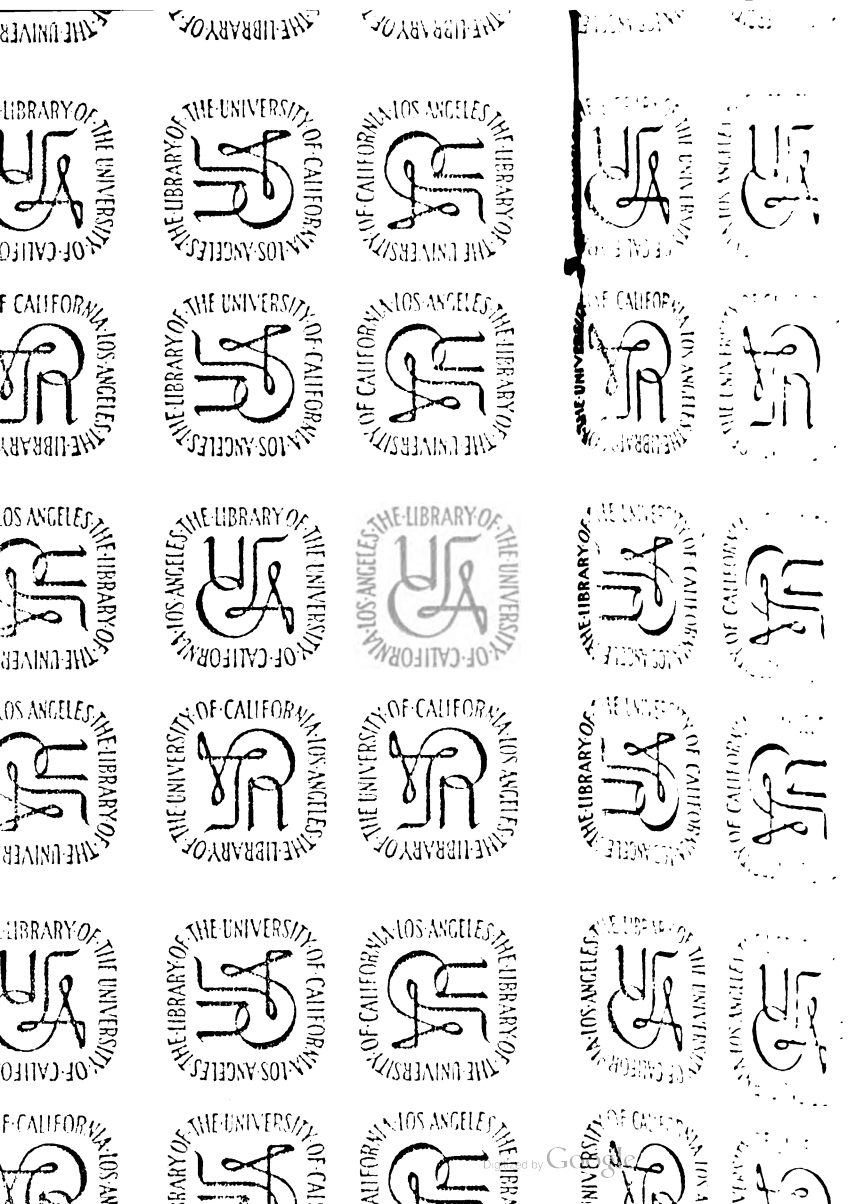
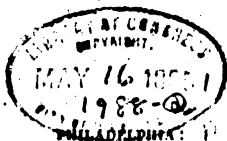






CHAPLAIN SMITH
AND
THE BAPTISTS;
OR,
LIFE, JOURNALS, LETTERS, AND
ADDRESSES
OF THE
REV. HEZEKIAH SMITH, D. D.,
OF
HAVERHILL, MASSACHUSETTS.
1737-1805.

BY
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INTRODUCTION TO THE WRITINGS OF BOAZER WILLIAMS," ETC.



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INTRODUCTION.

THE late Rev. Dr. David Benedict, of Pawtucket, the venerable "Baptist historian," as he was called, a few weeks before his death, placed in my hands a package of papers purporting to be the manuscript sermons of the Rev. Hezekiah Smith, of Haverhill, which he in his earlier years had obtained from the family of the Rev. Isaac Backus. Not being specially interested in such worn and faded theological records, and my time being fully occupied with daily cares and duties, I laid them carefully away without perusal; and for a while they were forgotten. Near the close of the year 1879,³³ having occasion to consult them, my eye rested at once on a little manuscript, six inches by four, encased in dark blue paper covers, and stitched with a silken thread. It proved to be Mr. Smith's diary during the years 1777 and 1778, while he was a Chaplain in the American Army. Soon I became absorbed in the reading, for I found myself amid the stirring scenes of war at Stillwater and Saratoga. As a natural result, I copied the manuscript, making it the basis of a paper entitled: "The Diary of Chaplain Smith, of the Revolution, relating especially to the battles of Stillwater." This paper I read by invitation before the Rhode Island Historical Society on the evening of Tuesday, February 10, 1880. It attracted public attention on account of the new and important material which it embodied, and notices of it were widely circulated through the press.

A few weeks afterward, I received a communication from Mrs. Rebecca S. Fyfe, widow of the late Rev. Dr. R. A. Fyfe, Principal of the Literary and Theological Institute, at Woodstock, Canada.

The letter was dated Woodstock, Ontario, March 4, 1880. The writer gracefully referred, as an apology for addressing an entire stranger, to her acquaintance with me as the biographer of President Manning, and especially to notices which she had read in the "Watchman" and the "Examiner," of my paper on Chaplain Smith, her revered grandfather. She stated that she had important papers of his, which had long been in her possession, and expressed a wish to place them in my hands for historical purposes, and for safe keeping. These papers, which she afterwards sent me by express, proved, on examination, to be diaries, letters, sermons, addresses, army orders, memoranda, and the like. They supplied links and filled important gaps in my previous collection, thus affording ample material for a complete history of Smith and his times. Encouraged by the favor with which my recent address on Dr. Smith before the American Baptist Historical Society has been received, and guided by the opinions and wishes of those upon whose judgment I am accustomed to rely, I have digested my material, and arranged it in book form, on a plan similar to that adopted in my life of Manning; allowing the writers and actors, as far as possible, to tell their own story, and in their own way.

The work, which consists largely of extracts from Dr. Smith's journals, must be regarded as essentially a RECORD, made by a keen and intelligent observer of passing events, a college graduate, a popular preacher, and one who was thoroughly acquainted with localities and men in all the thirteen States. It includes an account of the author's extensive journeys on horseback through the South, where he spent several years in the earlier part of his life, preaching as an evangelist, and collecting funds for Rhode Island College; of his forty years residence in Haverhill, as Pastor of the Baptist Church; of his frequent missionary tours, mostly on horseback, in the States of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont; of his six campaigns with the Northern Army in the vicinity of the Hudson River; and of his regular annual visits to Rhode Island as a Fellow of the College, and his visits from time to time among his family

and friends in the Middle States. The sketches of contemporaries introduced, and the numerous notes and illustrations, will not, I trust, detract from the value of this RECORD of the past.

The chapters relating to the War of the Revolution, and to Dr. Smith's connection with the army as a Chaplain, consist mainly, as will be observed, of military journals, army orders, and addresses, correspondence, and extracts from documents and published works. Chapter IV. includes the years 1775-6, and relates to the beginning of hostilities, the battle of Bunker Hill, at which he was present, the siege of Boston, the campaign in New York, the command on Governor's Island, the disastrous battle on Long Island, and Washington's retreat over the East River, and the surrender of Fort Washington; closing with an account of Chaplains in the army, and a list of those under appointment as Brigade Chaplains in the year 1778. Chapter V. includes the year 1777, and relates to the campaigns of Schuyler and Gates, the battles of Stillwater, and the surrender of Burgoyne, at which he was present; closing with an address delivered in camp on the second anniversary thereof, Oct. 17, 1779. Chapter VI. includes the years 1778-80, and relates to the war in the Northern Department, the expedition of Clinton up the Hudson, Verplanck's and Stony Point, West Point and Benedict Arnold closing with an address delivered to the First Massachusetts Brigade at Tappan, Oct. 1, 1780, on account of the discovery of Arnold's treachery, in which the Chaplain refers to the baseness of the low-lived traitor as exceeding, if possible, that of a Tory. These chapters cannot fail to be regarded as a faithful exponent of the views and feelings of the patriots who fought in this great national struggle for independence, and as an important contribution to the history and literature of the war.

The work throughout abounds with the records of ecclesiastical strife. This could hardly be otherwise, in any faithful account of the life and times of Dr. Smith. The Baptists at this early period were, to use the words of Manning, "poor, despised, and oppressed." The laws of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, which are here given in

full, were unjust and operated against them. He himself was regarded as a leader among his people. He was for many years a prominent and active member of the "Committee on Grievances;" and, at one time, as will be seen from the narrative, he was under appointment to go to England and petition the throne for redress. He founded the Baptist Church in Haverhill, and various other churches, in the midst of opposition, obloquy, and reproach. He was largely instrumental in forming the Warren Association, the annual meetings of which he continued to attend until the last, and over which he usually presided as Moderator. This Association, during the first half century of its existence, was mainly an organization of the Baptist churches of Massachusetts, in order that, by their combined efforts, they might the more effectually resist acts of oppression, and eventually secure religious freedom. No life of him, therefore, would be complete without including a history of this organization, with ample references to its published minutes. They are introduced only as a part of the narrative; and, I trust, only in the spirit of candor, and of historical fidelity. The animosities and strifes of a hundred years ago, political as well as ecclesiastical, have long since been buried; and to-day a spirit of charity and universal toleration happily prevails. Heaven speed the day when the "fatherhood of God" and the "brotherhood of man" shall be everywhere received and acknowledged as guiding principles for the regulation of human conduct and life.

The great religious denomination, whose early poverty, weakness, and struggles are here portrayed, representing at the present day the sentiments and worship of one-fifth of the population of the United States; and the venerable seat of learning, whose beginnings and progress during nearly half a century are recorded throughout these pages, will hold in grateful and lasting remembrance the names of Samuel Stillman, James Manning, and Ezekiah Smith—the learned trio of Baptist ministers, who came from the Jerseys in the year 1764, and settled in the land of Roger Williams and the Pilgrims.

The work has been prepared at intervals of time, and amid discouragements. The Hon. Chas. S. Judge Bradley and the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. S. F. Smith have kindly read the manuscript and made important suggestions. For this labor of love, and for the interest which they have manifested in its publication, I would make most grateful acknowledgments. Regretting that I have not possessed greater skill and more leisure for my self-appointed task, I now submit it, with all its imperfections, to the public, trusting that it may prove acceptable to the general reader, and useful especially to Baptists, to whose interests as such the subject devoted his talents and his life.

REUBEN A. GUILD.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, May 4, 1888.

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CHAPLAIN SMITH AND HIS TIMES.

CHAPTER I.

CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH—HOPEWELL ACADEMY—PRINCETON—
SOUTHERN STATES—NEW JERSEY—RHODE ISLAND—MASSACHU-
SETTS.

1737-1764.

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I propose to embody in these pages, as fully as may be, the personal, military, and denominational record of a distinguished Christian patriot—the Rev. Hezekiah Smith, D. D., of Haverhill, Massachusetts. Few men have been more honorably mentioned than he in connection with the times in which he lived; and there are few whose memories have been more deeply cherished in the hearts of surviving friends. His character possessed remarkably strong and excellent traits, and his

life was filled with acts of usefulness and deeds of love.

It is to be regretted that the name of one who was prominent in his day as an educator, who was everywhere acknowledged as a "prince and a leader" in the religious denomination to which he belonged, and whose fame is linked with the history of the country, by the services which he rendered in her struggles for national independence, should have been allowed to pass away from the memory of men. Although he held the rank of Brigade Chaplain in the American Army, and was the friend of Washington, the counsellor of Gates, and the spiritual adviser and leader of officers and soldiers alike among the New England troops, during six eventful years of the war, no allusion to him even is found on the page of the historian. Headley has failed to include him in his interesting work on the "Chaplains and the Clergy of the Revolution," because, as he states in his preface, he was unable to collect the facts necessary for a biography. The inquirer will look in vain for any mention of his name in Allen's "American Biographical Dictionary," or in Johnson's or Appleton's "Cyclopedia";¹ and catalogues will be consulted in vain for the title of any production, save a little pamphlet on baptism, emanating from his pen.

¹ In the "Christian Watchman," for 1833, are fourteen letters, entitled, "Sketches of the Life and Character of the Reverend Hezekiah Smith, D. D., first Pastor of the Baptist Church in Haverhill, Massachusetts." The first letter was published in January, and the last in May. They were written by the late Rev. Dr. Stephen P. Hill, who was for some time Pastor of the Baptist Church in Haverhill, and who was thus enabled to record facts in Mr. Smith's life while the remembrance of him was yet fresh in the minds and hearts of his people. In Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit," Vol. VI., is a brief sketch of five pages, by the Rev. Dr. A. F. Smith, the poet, who married a granddaughter of the Chaplain. This sketch has been abridged by Dr. Cathcart, and published in his "Baptist Encyclopedia."

Mr. Smith was born, April 21, 1737, in Hampstead, Long Island; or, to use his own words, "near the Great Pond, about two miles from the west end of the Great Plains." Concerning his family but little can now be ascertained. It is only known that the name of his mother was Rebecca (Vanderpool), whom he baptized in the Passaic River, in 1766, as appears from his diary, and that he had four brothers¹ and two sisters,² all of whom arrived at maturity and settled in the "Jerseys." What were the influences and surroundings of his childhood and youth, can only be conjectured. At the age of nineteen, he became the subject of religious impressions, and was baptized by the Rev. John Gano,³ a distinguished divine, who, in the early part of his ministry, had the

¹ Jeremiah, born September 12, 1732; Uriah, born December 28, 1734; Obadiah, born November 9, 1739; Sarah, born April 24, 1742; Mary, born December 19, 1743; and Peter, born February 13, 1748. The oldest brother, Jeremiah, was a Colonel in the War of the Revolution, having been appointed to the command of the Elizabethtown troops in New Jersey. The youngest brother, Peter, was a practicing physician, and a resident of Chatham, New Jersey. One of the sisters, as appears from an entry in Smith's diary, under date of September 4, 1756, married an Ellison. The mother, after the death of her husband, removed to Chatham, New Jersey, and afterwards to Chatham, where she died, November 8, 1788. The descendants of these brothers and sisters are very numerous to-day in the Middle States.

² Mr. Gano, whose name occurs so frequently throughout these pages, was born at Hopewell, New Jersey, July 22, 1727. At an early age he joined the Baptist Church in that place, where he received his license to preach. He was at Morristown from 1754 until 1756, when he resigned the care of the church and went South. On June 19, 1762, the First Baptist Church in New York was organized, and he became its pastor. Here he remained more than a quarter of a century, except when he was absent from the city on account of the Revolution. During the entire war he served as one of the bravest and most efficient of all the Chaplains, doing much to encourage his countrymen in their struggles for independence. His family meanwhile was in Connecticut. In 1787, he removed from New York to Kentucky, where he died in 1801, in the 87th year of his age. He married Sarah, daughter of Alderman Sillcs, of Elizabethtown, by whom he had eleven children. One of them, Dr. Stephen Gano, was for thirty-six years the honored and useful Pastor of the First Baptist Church in Providence, Rhode Island. His brother-in-law, James Manning, the distinguished President of Rhode Island College, now Brown University, married Margaret Sillcs, a younger sister of Sarah.

oversight of the little Baptist Church in Morristown,¹ New Jersey. The family, previous to this time, had removed from Long Island to Hanover,² a flourishing manufacturing town in Morris County.

The thoughts of Mr. Smith were at once turned towards the ministry, and he desired to enter upon a course of preparatory study. This his father seriously opposed. The counsels of his pastor,³ and the solicitations of an elder brother finally prevailed, and he became one of the first pupils of the Rev. Isaac Eaton, at the famous Hopewell Academy.⁴ On September 29, 1759, he entered the

¹ In the interesting account of Hezekiah Smith, furnished for Sprague's "Annals" by Rev. Dr. R. F. Smith, it is stated that, at the age of nineteen, he joined the Baptist Church in New York City, then under the pastoral care of Mr. Gano. This statement, which I have inadvertently repeated in my "Life of Manning," and which Dr. Train has followed in his Notes to his Centennial Discourse, is of course an error, as has already been shown. The Church in New York was not constituted until 1762, six years after Mr. Smith was baptized. Possibly he may have joined the New York Church by letter in 1762. It is certain that he afterwards joined the Church in Charleston, S. C., under the care of Rev. Oliver Hart, and that from this church he transferred his relations, finally, to the one which he was instrumental in organizing in Haverhill. The little Church at Morristown, which Smith joined in his youth, and of which John Gano was for two years the Pastor, has come to be large and flourishing, having a membership of over two hundred. The present Pastor is Rev. Addison Parker, a graduate of Brown University, in the Class of 1862. Morristown itself has come to be one of the most important of the suburbs of New York City.

² In Barber's "Historical Collections" it is stated that this township was formed about the year 1700, and that the name of Hanover was given about 1746. The first settlers were principally from Newark, Elizabethtown, East Hampton, Long Island, and New-England. They were probably drawn thither by the abundance of iron ore, as they erected forges, and entered extensively into the manufacture of iron.

³ In the "Biographical Memoirs of the late Rev. John Gano," a little duodecimo of 151 pages, published in 1806, and now very rare, occurs the following: "At one of these places there was a happy instance of a promising youth (by name Hezekiah Smith), who professed to be converted, and joined the church, who appeared to have an inclination for education, to which his parents objected. His eldest brother joined me in soliciting his father, who finally consented to his receiving an education. He went through a collegiate education at Princeton College, and came out a zealous preacher, and to appearance, a useful one. The Church at Morristown gradually grew, and the congregation gradually increased."

⁴ In the minutes of the Philadelphia Association for Oct. 3, 1758, we find as

Sophomore Class of the College of New Jersey, at Princeton—an institution of learning founded a few years before, under the auspices of the Synod of New York,¹ representing, it is well known, that branch of the Presbyterian Church, which, as did in general the Baptists, sympathized with Whitefield and Tennent, and aided in the promotion of revivals.² His delay in enter-

follows: "Concluded to raise a sum of money toward the encouragement of a Latin Grammar School, for the promotion of learning among us, under the care of Brother Isaac Eaton, and the inspection of our Brethren Abel Morgan, Isaac Stille, Abel Griffith, and Peter P. Van Horn." Mr. Eaton was a man of wonderful learning and attainments for the times in which he lived. He was installed as Pastor of the Baptist Church in Hopewell, Nov. 29, 1748. Under the wise and comprehensive resolution of the Association as quoted above, the Academy was commenced, and continued for a period of eleven years, or until the close of the year 1767. To Mr. Eaton, therefore, belongs the distinguished honor of being the first American Baptist to establish a seminary for the literary and theological training of young men. Here were educated many who afterwards attained to eminence in their several professions. Among the distinguished divines who thus received their academic training may be mentioned James Manning, Samuel Jones, who, upon Manning's death in 1791, was invited to succeed him as President of Rhode Island College, the subject of this sketch, Isaac Skillman and John Davis of Boston, William Williams of Wrentham, Charles Thompson of Warren, the Valedictorian of the first graduating class under Manning, David Jones, John Sutton, and David Sutton. Also Hon. Judge Howell and Benjamin Stille of Providence, Hon. Jesse Hand, Dr. Joseph Eaton, Dr. John Stiles, Richard Stiles, Esq., Thomas Dugan, Esq., David Bowen, Esq., Dr. Benjamin Vankirk, Dr. Joseph Talman, and Stephen Watts.

¹ Ex-President Mackay, the learned historian of the College (2 vols., 8vo., Phila., 1877) thus writes: "The first efforts for the erection of a college in New Jersey have an intimate connection with the first schism in the Presbyterian Church. This schism began in 1741, with the separation of the Presbytery of New Brunswick from the Synod of Philadelphia. It was consummated in 1745, by the withdrawal of the Presbytery of New York from the same Synod, *then the only one*; and by the organization of a new Synod, under the title of the Synod of New York, in the autumn of that year." Jonathan Dickinson of Elizabethtown, the first President of the College, had been the acknowledged leader of the Old Synod of Philadelphia, and he became no less the leader of the new Synod, now formed. He was the intimate friend of Whitefield, who on one occasion visited him and preached in his parish. He, says Sprague in his "Annals," "had more to do with originating the College of New Jersey than any other man."

² It has been stated that the College owes its origin to the expulsion of David Brainerd from Yale College, in consequence of his attending meetings of the "New Lights," as revivalists were then called. It is a significant fact that three of the men who were most conspicuous in their sympathy with and efforts for

ing college may be owing to the fact that there was no permanent presiding officer of the institution in 1758. President Burr had died on September 24, 1757. His successor, Jonathan Edwards, lived only five weeks after taking the oath of office. The fourth President was Samuel Davies, a man distinguished for his wisdom, piety, and eloquence. Indeed, he has been regarded, and justly perhaps, as the prince of American preachers.¹ His patriotic sermons, when a pastor in Virginia, are said to have produced effects as powerful as those ascribed to the orations of Demosthenes. It was to him, doubtless, that Smith, and his classmate, Manning, were largely indebted for the model and inspiration of that popular and effective style of preaching, which made them pre-eminent among the Baptist divines of their day.

During his Senior year he was taught Latin, Greek, and Hebrew by Samuel Finley, Davies' successor. President Finley possessed extensive learning, and he was especially remarkable for sweetness of disposition and politeness of behavior. He was also instructed by tutors Halsey, Treat, Ker, and Blair, all of whom afterwards became eminent ministers. The last named, Dr. Samuel Blair, was, in 1767, elected to the Presidency of the

Brainerd, and in labor to promote revivals, were Jonathan Dickinson, Aaron Burr, and Jonathan Edwards, the first three Presidents of the College. (Maclean's History. Vol. I., pp. 65-6.)

¹His "Sermons," to which are prefixed a sermon on his death, by his successor, Samuel Finley, and another discourse on the same occasion, together with an Elegiac Poem to his memory, by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Gibbons, were published in London, in five octavo volumes. A fine copy, second and third editions, 1772-4, is in the Library of Brown University. Mr. Davies spent the early part of his professional life in Virginia, preaching to destitute churches in Hanover, Henrico, Caroline, Louisa, and Goochland Counties, maintaining the cause of the Dissenters, and laboring persistently to secure the religious liberties of his people against the bigotry and tyranny of their oppressors. He was thus a friend of the Baptists. The distinguished Patrick Henry, who was born in Hanover County, was one of his hearers, and an enthusiastic admirer of him and of his opinions.

College, Dr. Witherspoon having declined this honor. Blair did not accept the appointment, and Witherspoon was afterwards re-elected by the trustees. Such were Smith's instructors. The teachings of these excellent men; it is perhaps needless to add, and the associations of his academic and collegiate life, had a most important influence in developing his character, and in determining his subsequent career as a preacher and an evangelist.

Among the requirements for admission to the College of New Jersey was one obliging every student to transcribe the laws and customs thereof, which copy, being signed by the President, was to be in testimony of his admission, and to be kept by him while in college, as a rule of his good behavior. Among the Smith papers is a copy of these laws, which we publish in this connection as a good illustration of the history of the times of which we write. "Laws," says Montesquieu, a celebrated French writer, "in their most extensive sense, are the necessary relations arising from the nature of things. In this sense, all beings have their laws, the Deity his laws, the material world its laws, the intelligences superior to man their laws, man his laws, the beasts their laws." These laws, it may be added, formed the basis for the government and discipline of Rhode Island College, now Brown University:

LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF THE COLLEGE OF NEW JERSEY.

OF ADMISSION.

1. None may expect to be admitted into the College but such as having been examined by the President and Tutors, shall be found able to render Virgil, and Tully's Orations, into English; to turn English into true and grammatical Latin; and so well acquainted with the Greek as to render any part of the four Evangelists in

that language into Latin or English, and give the grammatical construction of the words.

2. Every student that enters the College shall transcribe the Laws, which, being signed by the President, shall be the testimony of his admission, and shall be kept by him while he continues a member of said College, as a rule of his good behavior.

OF GRADUATION.

1. Such as are candidates for the degree of Bachelors, shall at some convenient time, before the public Commencement, submit to a strict and critical examination, before the President and as many of the Trustees as can conveniently attend, and any other gentlemen of liberal education as shall see cause to be present; and, upon their approbation, may expect to be admitted to the honors of the College.

2. Those who have prosecuted their studies for the space of three years, after obtaining their first degree, if they have not been scandalous in their lives and conversations, shall be admitted to the degree of Master of Arts.

OF RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.

1. The President, or in his absence one of the Tutors, shall, morning and evening, read a portion of the Holy Scriptures, and pray with the students.

2. Every student shall be obliged to give his attendance at all such religious exercises, and those that absent themselves, for every offence, shall be punished in a fine of two pence *proc.*¹ and those who do not timely attend, one penny, unless detained by sickness, or some other excuse as shall be deemed sufficient.

3. The students on every Lord's Day shall attend Divine Service in some place of public worship; which, if they without sufficient excuse omit, they shall be punished in a fine of four pence *proc.*; and shall pay a religious regard to the Lord's Day by keeping in their rooms and not visiting, or admitting others into their company. And it is judged expedient and hereby ordered, that no student be out of his room on the evening next after Saturday, or next after Lord's Day, except for religious purposes, or some necessary occasion, under penalty of four pence for every such offence.

¹ Proclamation money. Six shillings to the dollar, i. e., £1 sterling was equal to £1-10s. *proc.*

OF MORAL CONDUCT.

1. If any student shall be convicted of drunkenness, fornication, lying, theft, or any other scandalous crime, he shall be admonished to make a public confession, or be expelled, according to the aggravation of the crime. Provided always, that no member be expelled the College, without the consent of, at least, six of the Trustees, the President in the interim having power to suspend such offenders.

2. None of the students shall frequent taverns, or places of public entertainment, or keep company with persons of known scandalous lives, who will be likely to vitiate their morals. Those that practice contrary to this law, shall first be admonished, and if they still persist in such dangerous company, shall be expelled the College.

3. None of the students shall play at cards, or dice, or any other unlawful game, upon the penalty of a fine not exceeding five shillings *proc.* for the first offence; for the second, public admonition; for the third, expulsion.

4. If any student shall fight with or strike another person, he shall be punished in a fine not exceeding three shillings *proc.* for each offence.

5. All the members of the College shall be obliged to repair and make good all the damages they shall wilfully or carelessly do to the estate of any person whatsoever.

6. Those students, if they bring into their chambers, without a permit from the President or some one of the Tutors, wine, metheglin, or any kind of distilled spirituous liquors, shall be punished in a fine not exceeding five shillings *proc.* for each offence.

OF ATTENDANCE ON THE ORDERS OF COLLEGE.

1. Every student shall apply himself close to his studies, and diligently observe the hours of study, constantly attending on all the exercises appointed by the President and Tutors for their instruction.

2. None of the students shall be absent from their chambers without leave first obtained from the President, or one of the Tutors, unless half an hour after morning prayer and recitations, an hour and a half after dinners, and from evening prayer until seven o'clock, on the penalty of four pence *proc.* for each offence.

3. If any scholar shall persist in the careless neglect of his studies, and shall not make suitable preparation for the stated recitations and

other scholastic exercises appointed for his instruction, after due admonition, he shall be expelled.

4. No scholar shall go out of town, except by the President's or Tutor's license, unless it be in the stated vacation, on penalty of such fine as the President shall think proper, not exceeding five shillings *proc.* for the first offence, and if after admonition they continually repeat the offence, they shall be expelled.

5. If any of the students of the College do not obey the President or Tutors; or shall insult or treat them with disrespect or contempt, they shall be punished in a fine not exceeding five shillings *proc.* for the first offence; for the second, they shall make a public confession, be admonished, or expelled the College.

OF EXPENSES.

1. Every student shall be obliged to pay for his tuition in the College the sum of fifteen shillings *proc.* every quarter.

2. Every one that is admitted to the honor of a degree shall pay thirty shillings *proc.* to the President of the College.

SOME FURTHER LAWS FOR THE BETTER REGULATION OF THE STUDENTS' BEHAVIOR.

1. The Tutors shall frequently visit their pupils in their chambers, to direct and encourage them in their studies, and see that they are diligently employed about their proper business.

2. No scholar shall be allowed to make any treat or entertainment in his chamber on any account, or have any private meals, without having first obtained leave of the President or Tutors.

3. No scholar shall invite any young woman to his chamber without it be by leave of the President or Tutors, and on no account have any there after daylight.

4. No jumping or hallooing or boisterous noise shall be suffered in the College at any time, or walking in the gallery in the time of study.

5. Every scholar that refuses to appear personally to the President or Tutors, or any officer they may send to their rooms, shall be punished as if absent.

6. That whosoever shall do any damage designedly, by writing, marking, etc., in any part of the College, shall pay fourfold the real damage; if accidentally, shall make it good; and what damage is done, and the author of it can't be detected, shall be levied equally

on them that live in the room, or in the gallery where it is done; if in the library, or hall, or any part of the College unoccupied, to be levied equally on all. The damages to be estimated by the President, or any two persons whom he may appoint.

7. If any scholar refuse to open his door to the President or Tutors, they may break it down, and the scholar so refusing, or any who shall deny their assistance to him or them, or any officer appointed by the President in suppressing any riot, shall be punished, as in case of contempt of authority.

8. That every scholar shall keep his room neat and clean, and when he enters the College, shall clean his shoes to prevent soiling the floors, which if he be observed to neglect, he shall be fined four pence per time.

9. If any one throws wood or stones upon the pavement, he shall be fined six pence, and pay damages for each time.

10. Quicumque contra Collegium minxerit, vel eo fenestrâ aliquid Sordium ejecerit mulctetur 1d; si repetit, admonetur.

11. Every student shall pay four pence per quarter for study rent, sweeping their room, and making their beds. And such as smoke or chew tobacco, five pence; and one shilling for incidental charges.

12. The President or Tutors, when not admitted into a room, may signify their presence by a stamp, which signal no scholar shall imitate on penalty of five shillings pro.

13. Every student shall attend constantly, except in time of vacation; but if he be necessarily absent, shall pay one shilling per week, to prevent the loss which a steward would otherwise sustain.

14. To prevent students from contracting needless and extravagant debts, the President or Tutors, whenever they judge it necessary, may and shall forbid any student contracting any such debts; and the scholar disobeying such express commands, shall be punished as in case of contempt of authority.

15. As it is prejudicial to the credit and peace of this Society to make or read publicly in the Hall any pointed declamations, that tend to injure or expose the characters of any persons, every student is strictly forbid to make or read off any such declamations; and whoever disobeys in this particular, shall be punished according as the President shall judge the crime aggravated.

16. No scholar shall spread abroad anything transacted in this house, which being publicly known may tend to injure the credit of this Institution or disturb the peace of the members.

17. No scholar shall use any of the Library books as School books for daily recitations.

18. No undergraduate shall be allowed to have the key of the Library, or go into it without the Library Keeper.

LAWS ADDED AT DIFFERENT TIMES.

1. Voted. That the President have a discretionary power, in conjunction with the Tutors, to establish such Customs and Regulations, not contrary to the Laws of College, as are necessary for preserving good order and decorum, and to punish any that are disorderly and scandalous in their behavior, so as to be inconsistent with the well being of the Society, and contrary to the spirit and intention of the Laws; and that he be accountable to the Trustees for the exercise of said power.

2. Voted. That each of the students be obliged to pay their tuition money quarterly to the Treasurer, with all such fines as shall be incurred during each quarter; and that no student be admitted to the honors of a degree, till he brings a certificate from the Treasurer that all his College dues are discharged.

3. Voted. That the fourth Law under Moral Conduct be in these words:

If any student shall fight with or strike any other person, he shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five shillings *pro*; or admonished, or expelled the College, according to the aggravation of the Crime.

4. Ordered. That any Bachelors of Arts who live at College and enjoy the privileges of it, shall look upon themselves as obliged to be exemplary in the whole of their conduct, to attend prayers and public disputations appointed by the President, not exceeding once a week, and to avoid all such disorders and vices as are forbid by the Laws of the College.

5. Ordered. That no person be admitted into the College after the first year, unless they pay the College dues as if they had entered at the beginning.

6. Voted. That the students of the College be obliged to appear in such habits, as the President, Tutors, and any of the Trustees shall fix upon.

7. Voted. That neither the President, nor any other officer of the College, be allowed to receive any present from any of the classes, considered as a class.

THE CUSTOMS OF NEW JERSEY COLLEGE.

1. Every member of the College shall treat the authority of the same, and all superiors, in a becoming manner, paying that respect that is due to every one considered in his proper place.

2. Every scholar in College shall keep his hat off about ten rods to the President and five to the Tutors.

3. Every Freshman sent of an errand shall go and do it faithfully and make quick return.

4. Every scholar shall rise up and make obeisance when the President goes in or out of the Hall, or enters the pulpit on days of religious worship.

5. If walking with a Superior, he shall give him the highest place.

6. When he first comes into the company of a Superior, or in speaking to him, he shall show him respect by pulling off his hat.

7. If called or spoken to by a Superior, if within hearing, he shall give a direct and pertinent answer, with the word, *Sir*, at the end thereof.

8. At any door or entrance he shall give place to a Superior.

9. If overtaking a Superior, or met by him going up or down a pair of stairs, he shall stop, giving him the banister side.

10. He shall not enter in at a Superior's or even an equal's room without knocking at the door.

11. He shall never intrude himself upon a Superior.

12. He shall never be first or foremost in an undertaking, where a Superior is engaged or engaging.

13. He shall never use any indecent language or action in the presence of a Superior, such as making a noise, calling loud, or speaking at a distance, unless spoken to by him.

14. He shall call no Superior, inferior or equal, by a nick-name.

15. He shall, in his treatment of Superiors, inferiors, or equals, always observe the rules of good behavior.

16. He shall treat strangers and people residing in town, with all proper complaisance and respect.

17. No Freshman shall ever wear a gown.

18. No member of College may appear abroad dressed in an indecent or slovenly manner, but must be entire and complete.

19. No member of the College shall wear his hat in the College at any time, or appear in the Dining Room at meal time, in the Hall

at any public exercises, or knowingly, in the presence of any of the Authorities of the College, without an upper garment, and having shoes and stockings tight.

N. B. These Customs are binding on all the members of College, equally with the Freshmen, except so far as they relate to going on errands.

Mr. Smith took his Bachelor's degree¹ on September 29, 1762. An account of the Commencement is given in the "Pennsylvania Gazette," and published in full in Maclean's "History." The exercises were introduced by "an elegant salutatory oration² in Latin, by Mr. James Manning." The class consisted of twenty-one members, including some excellent scholars, who afterwards distinguished themselves in their several professions. Among them may be mentioned, besides his most intimate friend and companion, Dr. Manning, Hon. Ebenezer Hazard, who was the first Postmaster-General of the United States, after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and who published in two quarto volumes a valuable collection of documents relating to American history; Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, a member of the Continental Congress, and the first Attorney-General of Pennsylvania; Rev. Joseph Periam, for several years a Tutor in the College, and distinguished for his attainments in mathematics and metaphysics; Hugh Alison, a

¹ The parchment for this degree, together with that of the succeeding degree of A. M., he carefully preserved as treasured mementos of his Alma Mater. They were found a few years since, laid away in a secret recess of his private secretary—a fine specimen of old-fashioned cabinet manufacture, now in the possession of his great-grandson, Hon. Charles Smith Bradley, LL. D., of Providence. Mr. Smith always felt the deepest interest in the place of his education, frequently attending the Commencements, on his way to the Jerseys to visit his relatives. His diary alludes to a Commencement that he attended during the last year of his life even, when he also attended the Annual Meeting of the Philadelphia Association.

² A copy of this oration, in the well known handwriting of the author, is preserved in the Library of Brown University among the Manning Papers.

Presbyterian minister; and Hon. Isaac Allen, who was the Valedictorian.

Immediately after leaving College he set out on an extensive evangelizing tour throughout the Southern provinces, in order to exercise and improve his gifts, but mainly to recover his health, which had become somewhat impaired by close confinement to his studies. In a single year, from Oct. 29, 1762, he rode on horseback 4,235 miles, and preached 173 sermons, often to crowded and deeply affected congregations. His sincere piety, his genial disposition and manners, and his superior learning, made a most favorable impression on the minds of all with whom he came in contact, and he thus laid the foundations of lasting friendship with men whose intercourse and correspondence proved a delight to him in his riper years. His diary, which begins at this point, and which was continued down to the very close of his ministry, covering a period of forty-three years, is exceedingly full and minute. Together with sermons, addresses, and correspondence, it forms a reliable history, not only of his own life and times, but also of the great religious denomination which he so ably represented. This diary, or journal, arranged in chronological order, and illustrated with notes, constitutes, it will be observed, the basis of our present work. It is interesting to note that the author started on his important journey from Hopewell, the place of his early education. The record accordingly begins:

Friday, Oct. 29, 1762. I left Mr. Eaton's and discoursed at night from 2 Cor. 3: 17, at Mr. Harris'.—Sat., 30. Went to Kingwood in company with John Harris and John Hart,¹—Sabbath Day, 31. Dis-

¹ A signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a prominent member of the Baptist Church in Hopewell, of which Rev. Isaac Eaton was Pastor. He gave to

conferred during the day from Eccl. 8: 14, and in the evening from Ezek. 33: 11. God I trust was with me, enabling me to speak his truth with a feeling sense, and to the satisfaction of the hearers.—Monday, Nov. 8. Left Kingwood and went to New Britain in Pennsylvania, to Esq. Butler's.—Tues., Nov. 9. Went to Geo. Smith's in Montgomery. Spent the evening with him, and the next morning he went with me to Rev. Mr. Griffith's,¹ where I spent the remainder of the time until the next day, when I spoke from Rom. 1: 16. After meeting went home with the Rev. John Thomas, and discoursed the same evening on John 20: 26 at his own house.—Fri., 12. Went back to the Jerseys, crossed the Delaware, and lodged at Mr. Warford's in Kingwood.—Sat., 13. Went to Mr. Oldlike's.—Mon., 15. Left the Jerseys early. Crossed the Delaware, and spoke at New Britain meeting house at 11 o'clock, from 2 Cor. 3: 17, and in the afternoon from Job 36: 18. Lodged with one of the members, and was the next day accompanied by him and Mr. Isaac James to the Great Valley,² the Schuylkill being so low that we easily forded it. Lodged with Rev. Mr. Davis, and the next day went to John Evans' in Welsh Tract. Lodged there, and the next day went to the Rev. Mr. Davis' in Newark. (In passing through the Great Valley to the Welsh Tract, I went through Chester, Wilmington, and Newport.) Spoke in Rev. Mr. Davis' meeting house from Ex. 12: 13.—Sat., 20. Went to John Evans' in Baltimore. Tarried with him to my satisfaction that night, and the next day being the Sabbath, went to Richard Pritchard's to hear Mr. Sterling, a Presbyterian minister, preach. After he had

the Society the land on which the meeting house was erected. In 1863, a fine monumental shaft of Quiney granite was erected by the State in honor of his memory. In the dedicatory address upon the occasion by Gov. Joel Parker, occurs the following: "He was a true patriot. I am of the opinion, after a careful examination of the history of New Jersey during and immediately preceding the Revolutionary War, that John Hart had greater experience in the Colonial and State legislation of that day than any of his contemporaries, and that no man exercised greater influence in giving direction to the public opinion which culminated in independence."

¹ Rev. Benjamin Griffith, among the foremost Baptists in the State. He was born in Wales, Oct. 16, 1668, and came to America in 1710. He was ordained Pastor of the Montgomery Church, Oct. 23, 1725, and remained with them until his death, which took place Oct. 5, 1768.

² The Great Valley Baptist Church, the second oldest in Pennsylvania, is situate in Tredyffrin Township, Chester County. An excellent sketch of it is given by Hon. Horatio Gates Jones, J.L.D., and published in the minutes of the Philadelphia Association for 1883. Rev. John Davis was Pastor of this church from Nov. 16, 1732, to 1778.

preached I spoke from Eccl. 12: 13. After meeting I went home with Mr. Davis,¹ and tarried all night with him to my great satisfaction.—Friday, 26. Reached Thomas Betts, Esq., living five miles from Federicetown, and tarried with him all night.—Wed., Dec. 1. Returned to John Evans', and spoke from John 3: 7. Tarried with him all night, and the next day being Thursday, I was furnished by Evans and his family with a bag to carry corn in, steel, tinder box, tinder, and everything necessary for my journey.—Mon., 6. Went to Absalom Reandy's after passing Cedar Run. Lodged with him that night. The next day, being Tues., the 7th, I spoke from Matt. 16: 26 at Reandy's, a public house, where there was great opposition. It rose to so great a height that I expected to be mobbed.—Wed., Jan. 26, 1763. Went to Anson Court House, and preached from Matt. 5: 25. After sermon went home with Capt. Morgan Brown.—Thurs., 27. Left Brown's in company with Vandief and Smith, and went to Mr. Harriett'. Tarried till Friday, 28th. Spent the evening agreeably. From thence we went to Rev. Mr. Redgegood's.² Abode with him till Friday, Feb. 4.—Sabb., Feb. 3. Spoke in Mr. Redgegood's meeting house from Isa. 55: 6, and in the evening at Mr. James' from Heb. 7: 25.—Thurs., Feb. 17. Crossed Strawberry Ferry and went to Rev. Oliver Hart's³ in Charleston, where I was agreeably received. I spoke on the Sabbath in the forenoon in Mr. Hart's meeting house from *Amen*, the close of the Lord's Prayer, and in the evening from John 3: 7. I tarried the following week with Mr. Hart, and visited

¹ Probably Rev. John Davis, who was at this time Pastor of the Baptist Church in Baltimore.

² Rev. Nicholas Redgegood, an Englishman, who received his first religious impressions under the ministry of the famous George Whitefield. He came to America in 1751, and was for some time Mr. Whitefield's agent at the Orphan House in Savannah. Embracing Baptist sentiments, he was baptized by Rev. Mr. Hart of Charleston, and in 1759 he was ordained to the ministry. He was at this time Pastor of the Welsh Neck Church in South Carolina. His name is down among the subscribers to the Rhode Island College funds, for £22-1-0.

³ Mr. Hart was a distinguished Baptist divine, and a correspondent of James Manning while he was a student at Princeton. He was the main founder of the "Charleston Baptist Association," and in 1755, in connection with Pelet and others he founded "The Religious Society" to aid young men in obtaining an education for the ministry. His church was large and wealthy, and through his personal influence, it rendered essential aid to Rhode Island College in the early periods of its history. He was active and zealous in the cause of American independence. In 1775, he was appointed by the Council of Safety on a most important Committee. He continued until his death, which occurred in 1795, to be a warm personal friend of Hezekiah Smith, and a highly valued correspondent.

several of his congregation to my great satisfaction.—Thurs., April 5. Left Charleston in company with Rev. Bro. Bedgegood and went to James Island. Lodged that night at Mr. Rivera.—Wed., 6. Went to Mr. Sachsvarell's. The next day we went to the Rev. Francis Pelot's¹ at Entaw, where we tarried till Monday following. I spake in his meeting house on the Sabbath from John 3: 10.—Mon., 11. We left the Rev. Pelot's and went to Mr. Davis' on the Savannah River, after passing through a long swamp lying on the river. The swamp was supposed to be four or five miles in width, and the water so deep in some places that it ran over our horses' backs. The path through the swamp was called a foot path, and so covered with water that sometimes we could not see it. We were about three hours in the swamp, and after much difficulty we got through it. When we got to the river we could find no one to take us over. After hallooing, and riding up and down the river till 8 o'clock at night, in a heavy rain attended with thunder and lightning, some one answered from the other side, telling us we could not cross that night, and that we might find a house up the river. After seeking for it some time we found it. The house was very poor. Its covering was bark; its chimney was of palisades, and the sides were of logs, through which one might thrust his hand. We tarried there all night, and were thankful for such a shelter. The next day we crossed the river, and went to the Orphan House² in Georgia, where we were kindly received and entertained.—Wed., 13. I spake from these words in the Orphan House Chapel, Psalms 84: 10.—Thursday. Mr. Bedgegood preached.—Friday. I spake again from Isa. 9: 6.—Sat., 16. Mr. Bedgegood preached.—Sabbath, 17. We both preached. My subject was "For ye are dead," and Mr. Bedgegood's, "And your life is hid with Christ." Col. 3: 3.—Mon., 18. Mr. Bedgegood baptized Mr. and Mrs. Sturk and Mr. Dickson, and in the evening I spake from Isa. 62: 1.

¹ Mr. Pelot was a native of Switzerland, and the first Pastor of the Entaw Baptist Church. His parents were Presbyterians, and they gave their son a fine education. He came to South Carolina in 1734. He held a very high place in the denomination by reason of his talents, piety, and wealth. Morgan Edwards once said of him: "He possesses three islands and about three thousand and eighty-five acres on the continent, with slaves and stock in abundance. This I mention, not to flatter my friend Pelot, but in hope that his conduct may influence other wealthy planters to preach the gospel among the poor Baptists when God inclines their hearts to it."

² In the early part of 1738 Whitefield crossed the Atlantic for the first time, and instituted the Orphan House at Savannah.

The foregoing extracts, taken almost at random from the diary, may serve to illustrate Mr. Smith's travels through the South, and how he was received by the people. One more extract will show how he was in peril. The same confidence in the goodness and mercy of his Heavenly Father which gave him quiet and peace in the wild woods, surrounded by ravening wolves, sustained him in after life amid the perils and conflicts of war.

Mon., May 2. Mr. Bedgegood and myself set out for Augusta. That night we lodged at Mrs. Polhill's.—Tues., 3. We left Mrs. Polhill's and went up the Savannah River to Mr. Goldwire's at Mount Pleasant, where we lodged. The next day, Wednesday, we travelled twenty or thirty miles after passing any house, and were obliged to lodge in the woods under a bark cabin made by ourselves. It was disagreeable, it being a very rainy night.—Thurs., 5. After crossing Briar's Creek and many other waters, we were obliged to lodge out, being favored with good weather.—Fri., 6. After crossing an exceeding bad creek, where we were in danger of losing our horses on account of the badness of the bottom, we arrived at Mr. James Smith's in Augusta, with whom we lodged two nights.—Sat., 7. We visited Mr. Wm. Carton, Col. Barnett, Capt. Williams, Mr. Durrett, and Mr. Jackson, who used us very handsomely.—Sab., 8. We both preached to a large congregation. I spake from John 3: 3. After service in the forenoon, we went home with Mr. Carton and dined with him. After the service of the day was concluded, we went home with Capt. Williams, being accompanied by Mr. Carton. We drank tea with him, and then returned to Mr. Carton's who used us kindly. I had reason to think God sent us to Augusta, from the usage we had, and the effect which the word took.—Mon., 9. We left Mr. Carton's, after being furnished by him for our journey, both with victuals and drink. He let us have his Chair and boy to wait on us to visit Col. Barnett, and from thence to Mr. Smith's, where we left our horses. We left Mr. Smith's about noon, and set off for the Congarees. Lodged in the woods two nights before we got to the Congarees. Wednesday, about noon, we got to the Congarees, where we parted. Mr. Bedgegood went down the river and I went up the river. The same day I was suffered to miss my road in going to Mr. Adams,

where I expected to get that night, this being the first instance of the kind since I left the Jerseys. The road I had to go was only a foot path about twenty-five miles. I took a wrong path in which I travelled till night, and then had to camp alone in the woods, where the wild beasts of the forest were very numerous. The wolves yelled in such a hideous manner that my flesh crawled on my bones. However, there Providence conducted me, and there Providence preserved me. I should have been much troubled had not God encouraged me, by enabling me to put my whole trust in Him, and reminding me how he had shut the lions' mouths so that they could not hurt Daniel. —Thurs., 12. Early in the morning I returned in the same path about five miles, when I met a man who informed me that I must continue to return, and that the distance was near twenty miles to Mr. Adams, and that the path was difficult, which I found to be true. I endeavored to hire him to go with me and show me the way, but he entirely refused. I got to Mr. Adams in the afternoon, where I preached, after some solicitation, from John 3: 7, to five people.

On Tuesday, September 20, 1763, Mr. Smith was publicly ordained as an Evangelist, and set apart for the work of the Christian ministry. For several months, both before and after his ordination, he preached to a Church in Cashaway. His diary reads:

Wed., Sept. 14. Set off for Charleston, being accompanied by Mr. Robert Hicks. That night we lodged at Mr. Baches, on the Pee Dee. —Thurs., 15. We went to Joshua Screven's,¹ on the Black Mingo, where we lodged. —Fri. 16. We went beyond Santee, about six miles, and camped in the woods by reason of the heat. Here we stayed till 12 o'clock at night, and then we mounted and rode to Polthozza's in Strawberry, at whose house we came as the day dawned. After refreshing ourselves and horses, we left there and went to Charleston after much difficulty; for about twelve or fourteen miles from Strawberry my horse failed, and I was obliged to leave him at Major Montery's, who let me have one of his own. Providence was remarkably kind to me on my journey, for on Wednesday it rained hard before, behind, and on each side of me, yet the rain was not suffered to come

¹ The Screvens were a wealthy family of Baptists. In Mr. Smith's list of subscribers to the funds of Rhode Island College, we find the name of Thomas Screven, of Charleston, £30, and John Screven, of James Island, £10.

where I was, only a few drops. We got to Mr. Screven's just before a hard rain.—Saturday. Maj. Monterey offered me a horse to ride to town, which carried me very well. I entered town about 8 o'clock at night. Lodged at Mr. Hart's.—Sab., 18. I preached in town from John 1: 29. That night took my lodgings at James Brisbane's.¹—Mon., 19. I wrote my confession.—Tues., 20. I was ordained by Rev. Messrs. Hart, Stevens, Pelot, and Bedgood. In the afternoon I left town and went home with Mr. Stevens.

Having spent fifteen months at the South and accomplished the object of his journey, Mr. Smith turned his face homewards:

Thurs., Feb. 2, 1764. Embarked at Charleston for New York in a sloop with Capt. Rose, where I arrived on the 14th. On my passage I found a peculiar satisfaction in confiding in God amidst the apparent dangers of the sea, which were not a little, for we had a storm in which the sea was so boisterous that my trunk in the cabin was turned upside down.—Wednes., Feb. 22. Left New York and went to my brother Jeremiah's, at Connecticut Farms.²—Thurs., 24. Went to my father's in Morris County.—Sab., 27. Preached in Morristown from 2 Sam. 18: 28, and, after hearing Mr. Jas. Manning preach, I administered the Sacrament.—Monday, March 5. Preached at Jeremiah Sutton's at Long Hill, from Isa. 9: 6, 7. In the evening gave an exhortation, after Mr. Manning had preached. Next day, Mr. Manning and myself went to Piscataqua,³ to Joseph Randolph's, and the day following, Wednes., 7, to Thomas Randolph's, in Princeton.—Thurs.,

¹ Mr. Brisbane afterwards subscribed £20 for Rhode Island College.

² This was a little village in Essex County, being in the northern part of the township of Union. It was the home of the parents of Mrs. Manning and Mrs. Gano, as well as of Jeremiah Smith. Hence it was a place often visited by Smith and his friends. During the war it was made memorable on account of the murder of Mrs. Caldwell, wife of Rev. James Caldwell, who was deliberately shot by a British ruffian at the Presbyterian parsonage, June 25, 1780.

³ This was a town in Middlesex County, on the river Raritan. Here was one of the oldest of the Baptist Churches, being one of the five which constituted the Philadelphia Association in 1707. The Pastor at this time, Rev. Isaac Stelle, was an intimate friend of Smith and Manning. His son, Benjamin Stelle, removed to Providence, where he established a Latin School, which, in 1760, as we learn from one of Manning's letters, numbered twenty scholars. A daughter of Benjamin Stelle, Mary Bowen, was married in 1801 to Hon. Nicholas Brown, from whom Brown University derives its name.

8. To Mr. Isaac Eaton's.—Friday, March 9. Preached for Mr. Eaton, from Luke 15: 24.—Sab., 11. I preached again for Mr. Eaton, from Isa. 9: 6, 7. After sermon, I went to College (Princeton). Stayed in College that night.—Mon., 12. Went with Mr. Manning to Capt. Geo. Taylor's, in Middletown, where we stayed till Wed. 14, when we went to Rev. Morgan's. Lodged with him.—Thurs. 15. I went to Cheesquakers and preached from Luke 15: 24. After sermon I went to Samuel Brookes, near the Plains.—Friday, 16. Went over to New York.—Sat., 17. I examined Mrs. Gano,¹ who was received by the Church. After the examination I baptized her and Jonathan Conc. It was supposed that three or four thousand people attended at the water.—Sab., 18. I preached in New York from John 1: 29, and Matt. 6: 13, "Amen." Stayed at Mr. Gano's till Sat., 24.—Fri. 23. In the evening I preached from Luke 14: 22. Surely God is wonderfully at work in New York. Christians are refreshed, and sinners are awakened, crying out "What must I do to be saved?"—Sab., April 1. I preached in Mr. Miller's Meeting House, at the Plains, from Rom. 10: 3. After sermon went to Deacon Drake's.—Mon., 2. I went to Hopewell, and stayed at Mr. Eaton's till Wed. 4, and then went to Mr. Miller's.²—Thurs., 5. Went to my father's, and, Fri., 6, I preached in Mr. Green's³ meeting house, from John 3: 3. The congregation was much affected.—Sat. Went to New York.—Sab. 8. Preached in New York from Isa. 30: 10. Stayed with Mr. Gano in New York until Wed. the 11th.

Two weeks before Mr. Smith set out on his horse-

¹ Her maiden name, as has already been stated, was Sarah Ellice. Her father, John Ellice, was a "ruling elder" in the Scotch Plains Baptist Church, and a man of property and influence. For several years he had been Mayor or Chief Magistrate of Elizabethtown, which was the early home of President Manning. Her sister Margaret, who was married to Manning in 1763, also became the subject of religious impressions during the progress of a revival in Providence, in 1773, and was baptized by her husband.

² Rev. Benjamin Miller, Manning's early Pastor, and the intimate friend of Gano, Melk, and Smith. He was a native of Scotch Plains, where he officiated as Pastor of the Baptist Church from 1744 until 1780, when he died.

³ Rev. Jacob Green, first Pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Hanover, Morris County. He was a most vigorous and uncompromising opposer of African slavery and an earnest advocate for American Independence. At the time when Mr. Smith occupied his pulpit, there was a powerful revival of religion in his congregation, which extended to many other congregations in the region. Mr. Green had ten children, one of whom was the Rev. Dr. Ashbel Green, for many years, President of the College of New Jersey.

back journey through the Middle and Southern Colonies, the Philadelphia Association, encouraged by the success of the Hopewell Academy, and urged on by the zeal and enthusiasm of Morgan Edwards, had resolved, in the words of the historian Backus, "to erect a College in the Colony of Rhode Island, under the chief direction of the Baptists, where education might be promoted and superior learning obtained, free from any sectarian tests." Manning, who was a member of the Association, had been selected as the leader in this important enterprise. With this end in view, having first been ordained to the work of the Christian ministry, and afterwards married, as has already been stated, to Miss Stites, he had travelled through the Northern Colonies, and finally succeeded in obtaining, from the Legislature of Rhode Island, a charter, which is now the Constitution of Brown University. The various steps taken in this matter, and the difficulties and the opposition encountered, I have narrated at length in "Life of James Manning," and also in an article furnished for the "Baptist Quarterly" for 1875. In beginning a college, which for a time existed only in name, without funds, or buildings, or students, it was necessary in the outset for the President to be, like his revered instructor Eaton, the Pastor of a Church, that he might thus rally around him the influence of the denomination under whose auspices it was founded, and obtain, by preaching, a support for himself and family. The only place which seemed to offer all the requisite conditions was Warren, a thriving inland town, ten miles from Providence. Here were members of the old Baptist Church in Swansey, Massachusetts, who had for several years contemplated the formation of a church. They

had already taken the first steps towards the erection of a house of worship, as appears from original papers now on file. With a distinct understanding that Warren was to be the home of the infant College, and that Manning was to be the President, the Religious Society, under date of February 17, 1764, extended to him a call, although the church was not constituted until November following. This call was signed by Sylvester Child, Ebenezer Cole, and John Wheaton, Committee. The declaration of the Society reads thus: "As we are of the opinion that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel, we do here declare our intention to render your life as happy as possible, by our brotherly conduct towards you, and by communicating our temporal things to your necessities, so long as God in his providence shall continue us together." Such a call Manning, under the circumstances, would of course accept. Smith naturally decided to accompany him to Rhode Island, and to seek somewhere in New England a home, and a centre for missionary and evangelistic labor. Accordingly we read in his diary:

With Mr. Manning and his wife embarked for Newport, in Rhode Island, with Capt. Stephen Wanton. Arrived at Newport on Friday, the 13th, and I went to Joseph Sanford's. Lodged there that night and Saturday night.—Sabb, 15. In the forenoon I preached for the Rev. Mr. Thurston¹ from Luke 2: 10, in the afternoon for the Rev. Mr. Upham² from 1 Peter 2: 7, and in the evening again

¹ Rev. Gardner Thurston, Pastor of the Second Baptist Church, having been ordained April 29, 1759. He continued Pastor until three years before his death, which occurred May 28, 1802. He was very popular as a preacher, and his congregation was large and influential. He was an intimate friend of Dr. Milles, afterwards the President of Yale College. He was a Trustee of Rhode Island College from 1764 till 1783.

² Rev. Edward Upham, Pastor of the First Baptist Church, founded in the time of Roger Williams, by Doct. John Clark. He was graduated at Harvard College

for Mr. Thurston, from Ezekiel 33: 11. These three sermons through divine goodness I preached with liberty. Sabbath evening I lodged with Mr. Thurston and likewise Monday evening.—Tues., 17. In the evening I preached again for Mr. Thurston, from Eccles. 12: 1. After meeting I went home with Samuel Burris. Wednesday evening I preached again for Mr. Thurston, from Ex. 32: 26, and lodged at his house. While I was in Newport I enjoyed much liberty among the Christians; I hope I was blessed in some instances, in preaching and in private conversation.

On Saturday, April 21, Mr. Smith left Newport, where he had been so well received, for the town of Warren, now the home of Manning. Here he remained five weeks, arranging his plans for the future, and preaching with great acceptance in various towns throughout the State. A few extracts from his diary will serve to illustrate the impression made upon the people during this, his first visit to Rhode Island.

Thurs., 19. Went with Edward Lillibridge to Samuel Marryott's in Portsmouth, on Rhode Island. Preached at the Town House on the West road, from Luke 19: 9. After sermon, went home with Marryott and lodged with him. Spent the evening much to my satisfaction, in Christian conversation. About ten o'clock, when I was at prayer, one of his children being in the chamber in bed, cried out—"the house is on fire." Immediately to our concern we found her words true. After laboring for some time to no purpose to put out the fire, we carried out what goods we could before the house burned down. It was a very stormy night of rain and snow. After the house had burned down we went, the family being much distressed, to Capt. Job Lawton's. From the beginning of the fire to the end I was much composed, till I got down to Mr. Lawton's which was about three quarters of a mile off. Then I reflected on the melancholy scene of the poor family being turned out in such a storm, and from that how dreadful it must be to the wicked, not only to be turned out of their habitations, which

In 1734. He became Pastor of the Church in 1748, succeeding Rev. John Candler. In 1771, he removed to West Springfield. He was a Fellow of Rhode Island College from 1764 till 1789.

will be consumed in the end of the world, when the heavens shall pass away with a great noise and the elements melt with fervent heat, when the earth and all that is therein shall be burned up, but they themselves cast into eternal burnings. I concluded, God assisting me, I would warn the wicked for the future, and try to convince them of their danger before that dreadful day.—Sat., 21. Went to Warren with Mrs. Manning, Esquire Coles, Capt. Wheaton, and Mr. Lillibridge.—Sat., 22. Preached in Littleton in Warren, from John 3: 4, two sermons. Stayed in Warren till Wed., 25, at Esquire Coles, and one night in Bristol at Mr. Troops; then went alone to Providence, to Nicholas Tillinghast's, Esq.¹ That evening went with Mr. Tillinghast to Elder Winsor's, who asked me to preach the next day.—Thursday, 26. I preached in the afternoon from Isa. 9: 6, 7, at Elder Winsor's meeting house. In the evening I preached for Mr. Snow² from Luke 15: 24.—Friday evening. I preached again for Mr. Snow, from John 1: 29.—Sat., 28. I went to Mr. Rhodes in Pawtuxet, and preached at the house of one of his neighbors from Luke 14: 22. God appeared, by the success, to be among us. After meeting I returned to town with Mr. Tillinghast, who went out with me.—Sat., 29. I preached for Mr. Winsor two sermons from John 3: 7. Before meeting, Mr. Winsor called upon me, which was the first time I had seen him since Thursday evening. In the evening I preached for Mr. Snow, from Rom. 6: 23. God only knows whether I did any good in Providence, or whether I had any business there or not.—Mon., 30. I preached at Mr. Carnes' meeting house in Rehoboth, from Isa. 3: 10-11. I make

¹ Mr. Tillinghast was one of the first Trustees of the College, and a prominent member of the Baptist Church, of which Rev. Samuel Winsor was Pastor, or Elder. This church which was founded by Roger Williams, consisted at this time of about a hundred members, who worshipped in a small house at the corner of North Main and Smith Streets. They believed in the doctrine of the imposition of hands, discarded singing as a part of religious service, and flourished after a fashion with an uneducated and unpaid ministry. Under the guidance of Manning, a few years later, it became one of the largest and most influential of the Baptist Churches in the country.

² Rev. Joseph Snow, Pastor of the Church now known as the "Beneficent Congregational." Their house of worship was at this time the largest in town. Here the Commencements of the College were held from 1770 to 1776, when the spacious house of the First Baptist Church was ready for occupancy. Mr. Smith continued to preach for Mr. Snow's people for more than forty years, during his annual and special visits to Providence. He and his people were "New Lights," so called, and were especially friendly to the Baptists, many of the members of the church having been baptized by immersion. Mr. Snow's funeral sermon was preached in 1833 by Rev. Dr. Gano.

no doubt but God blessed my discourse. After sermon, Mr. Carnes pressed me to preach again the next day. I complied, and preached from Ezekiel 33: 11. The words appeared to sink in the hearts of the hearers;—and may the Master of Assemblies fasten it as a nail in a sure place. After service I went to Warren and preached at Littleton from John 5: 25. I believe the word was directed to the hearts of several.

Wednesday, May 2. Went to Newport by water, accompanied by Mr. Miller, and went to my good friend's, Mr. Sanford's, where I was agreeably received, and where several of the people came, who appeared to be glad that I had returned. In the evening I went and lodged with Mr. Burris. The next evening I preached for Mr. Thurston from Job 36: 18. I hope God blessed the discourse to some, for he assisted me to speak without the fear of affronting any. After sermon I went home with my dear and worthy brother, Mr. Thurston, and lodged with him. Friday night I lodged at my good and kind friend's, Mr. Sanford's, to whose house I went after meeting with the company of women who weekly meet. I spake to them from Heb. 10, and encouraged them to continue their meetings and not forsake the assembling of themselves together, as the manner of some is, but exhorting one another, and so much the more as the day of coldness, darkness, and lukewarmness, as well as the day of judgment, etc., approaches. It was a blessed time to me, as well as to the souls of several that evening.—Sat., 5. I went, being accompanied by Mr. Lillibridge, to Capt. Coomer's in Bristol, and lodged with him. He and his wife appeared to be under great concern about their future state.—Sabb., 6. I preached in Warren two sermons from these words: "Prepare to meet thy God." I trust God was with me, and enabled me to preach his truth in a plain manner, to the alarming of some, and to the strengthening of others. That night I lodged at Col. Child's.—Mon., 7. After visiting several in town to my great satisfaction, and Mr. Troop's in Bristol, I went with Lillibridge to Swansey, to Rev. Job Mason's.¹ Spent the evening agreeably with him and his brother, Russell Mason, and John Mason, all ministers.—Tues.,

¹ Job was born Feb. 28, 1695, and ordained May 22, 1738. Russell was born April 22, 1714, and ordained Nov. 2, 1752. He was a Trustee of Rhode Island College from 1765 to 1791, and was appointed an important Commissioner. John was born in Oct., 1716. Their ancestor, Samson Mason, was a soldier in Cromwell's army, who came to America, and settled in Rehoboth, leaving a family of nine sons to inherit his name. One of them, Pelatiah, was the father of the three ministers mentioned.

8. I preached in their meeting house, from Luke 24: 47, with freedom.

Mr. Smith subsequently preached at Swanzev Neck, Tiverton, Little Rest, Exeter, East Greenwich, North Kingston, Coventry, Scituate, and Pawtuxet. During this tour he was accompanied by L. Reed and J. Champlain. May 22, he writes:—

We went to Warwick, where I preached in Rev. Chs. Holden's meeting house, from Pro. 8: 34. After service we went to Benoni Waterman's, drank tea, and then went to Mr. Christopher Rhodes in Pawtuxet, who sometimes preaches. Lodged with him.—Wed., 23. I preached at his house, from Ex. 14: 13. I believe that discourse was blessed. Mr. Greene (Job Greene of Coventry), Rhodes, and Holden, all preachers, got up and witnessed for the truth.

Sab., May 27, he preached his final sermon for Mr. Thurston, in Newport, which, he writes, "disturbed many of God's enemies and comforted many of God's people. This was manifest by their discourse after meeting." That evening he went to Warren, where he preached for Mr. Manning, from Ps. 42: 1.

On Monday, May 28, having bidden an affectionate farewell to his Jersey friends and the people of the place, Mr. Smith set out on his eventful tour to the Eastward. He was now in the full vigor and strength of his early manhood; dignified in person, handsome in his appearance, and agreeable in his manners. He had a large, well built, well proportioned frame, which combined great muscular energy with elasticity and grace of movement. All this was a fine counterpart to a rich musical voice of singular compass and power. He was moreover fired with a holy zeal and purpose; and he delivered his denunciations of wrath and his tender messages of love as one

commissioned from on high. Riding leisurely on horseback, he stopped at the various towns and villages on his route, announcing himself as a "New Light" preacher of the Whitefield and Tennant School. Everywhere, mostly among Congregational Churches, he appears to have received a cordial welcome, and crowds of eager listeners heard him with delight, filling in some places the stairs up to the pulpit, and even the pulpits which he occupied. His journal, which is unusually full during the early periods of his ministry, will best illustrate the character of his work.

Mon. 28. I went, being accompanied by Esquire Cole and Esquire Tillinghast, to Col. Wheeler's at Palmer's River, and preached in his meeting house, from 1 Peter 2:7 to a large assembly, with much apparent success. After sermon I went to Rev. Carnes' in Rehoboth, and was by him very agreeably received.

Tues., May 29. Preached in Mr. Carnes' meeting house from Rev. 1:5. The Spirit of the Lord appeared to be at work in the assembly, which was very large, perhaps about fifteen hundred.—Wed., 30. The Rev. Carnes went with me to Attleborough, where I preached in Mr. Wole's meeting house from Acts 16:30, to a large assembly, perhaps to about fifteen hundred or two thousand people. The doctrine descended like dew upon the mown grass, refreshing Christians and awakening sinners. After meeting, several hundred stayed at the door, some exhorting, some praising, and others much concerned.—Thurs., 31. Went to Elder Cook's meeting house in Cumberland. I trust the Lord through grace enabled me to preach the truth with

¹ Rev. John Carnes, Pastor of what is now the First Congregational Church in Seekonk, this part of Rehoboth having been incorporated into a township by an act of the Legislature, in February, 1812. Mr. Carnes, who had been Pastor in the place five years, was now having difficulty with some of his people, in consequence of which an ecclesiastical council of churches had been called during the previous year. The trouble probably was that he sympathized with the "New Light Movement," so called, or, in other words, that he was a revivalist. In December, 1764, he resigned his charge and removed to Boston, where he remained until the evacuation of that city by the British troops. He then entered the American Army as Chaplain, remaining until the close of the war. (See Bliss' "History of Rehoboth.")

clearness. The effect I leave with Him. After sermon, being accompanied by James Brown, I went to the Rev. Barnum's in Wrentham. Stayed with him. He genteely excused himself from inviting me into his pulpit to preach, by telling me of the difficulty in his church, and the dangerous consequences he was afraid would ensue.—Friday, June 1. Heard Mr. Burris preach in the neighborhood, and then went with Mr. Brown to Framingham, passing through Melway and Sherburne, to Mr. James Mellen's, who preached. Stayed with him.—Sat., 2. Met with a number of the Baptist ministers and messengers from several churches, in Framingham. At this meeting the point of Communion¹ was disputed, whether those of the Five Principles and Six Principles should sit together at the Lord's Table or not. It was concluded in the negative. Elder Backus pleaded for it. After the business of the churches was over, at their request, I gave a brief narrative of my travels, and then after dismission, I returned to Mr. Mellen's.—Sab., 3. Went to meeting with the Elder and heard Mr. James Brown preach in the forenoon, and in the afternoon I preached from Acts 8: 33: "Who shall declare his generation." Some of the people were much affected. After sermon they administered the Lord's Supper, in which time several cried out, and after they had finished the sacrament and dismissed the meeting, several men and women exhorted. There was a great outcry indeed among the people. After this we heard a sermon from Mr. Hovey from these words:—"For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved."—Mon., 4. Being accompanied by several, I went through Holliston and Mendon to Bellingham, where I preached in the Baptist meeting house from Rev. 1: 7: "Behold he cometh with clouds." After the sermon I went to Widow White's, where I lodged. There in the evening I met with the Rev. Mr. Stillman.

This was the celebrated Dr. Samuel Stillman² whom he now met for the first time, and who was officiating

¹ "Open Communion," so extensively practiced among the Baptists of England, seems to have received but little favor from the denomination in this country. The three oldest and leading Associations, viz., the Philadelphia, Charleston, and Warren, were strictly "Close Communion." Smith and his associates, Manning and Stillman, were "Close Communion" after the "Philadelphia pattern."

² Dr. Stillman was born in Philadelphia, Feb. 27, 1737. He received a classical education under the direction of a celebrated teacher by the name of Rind,

temporarily as an assistant in the Second Baptist Church in Boston, having arrived in that city from Charleston, South Carolina, only a few months previous. And here I may pause a moment in my narrative, to consider the distinguished trio, whose advent in New England forms so important an era in Baptist history. Manning, the elegant scholar and accomplished President; Smith, the great evangelist; and Stillman, the "little man eloquent," for more than forty years Pastor of the First Church in Boston, whom no stranger who visited that city failed to hear. Henceforth, they are to be most intimately associated in friendly relations, and in zealous and earnest labors to advance the cause of sound learning among the "poor and despised Anabaptists," as they were derisively called, and to secure the blessings of civil and religious freedom. How much the present generation owes to their united efforts we may never fully know. It is a singular fact that there were at this time but two liberally educated Baptist ministers in all New England beside the three mentioned:—Jeremiah Condy, of

studied theology under the Rev. Oliver Hart, of Charleston, S. C., was publicly ordained in his church on the 26th of Feb., 1759, and, like Mr. Smith four years later, was set apart to the work of an evangelist. He came to Boston in 1761, and for one year officiated as an assistant to the Rev. James Bond, then the Pastor of the Second Baptist Church. On the 9th of January, 1765, he was installed as Pastor of the First Baptist Church. Here he remained until his death, which occurred on the 12th of March, 1807. As a popular preacher he had hardly his superior in New England, while as a patriot and a citizen he was widely known and universally esteemed. The late Rev. Dr. John Pierce, of Brookline, in his "Half-Century Discourse," delivered March 15, 1847, thus speaks of him:—"The bare allusion to this godly man (Dr. Stillman) recalls delightful associations, of which I must ask leave to take a passing notice. When a boy, no greater boon could I ask of my father, than permission to walk five miles, on the Lord's Day morning, to hear this good man preach; and to remain, through the day, to be sure of a seat in his crowded house, for the afternoon. It has been my privilege, in my time, to hear eloquent preachers of great notoriety; but for pulpit eloquence, I have been in the invariable habit of assigning to him the very first rank."

Boston, a graduate of Harvard College, and Edward Upham, of Newport, also a graduate of Harvard:—"And these two," Backus writes, "were not clear in the doctrines of grace, being in fact Arminians." The diary continues:—

Tues, June 5. After I heard Mr. Stillman preach in the forenoon, I preached in the afternoon, from 1 Peter 4: 18, "And if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?" After the sermon I went with Mr. Stillman and several more through Medway to Medfield. I lodged that night at William Plimpton's.—Wed, 6. Heard Mr. Stillman preach from these words:—"In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and for uncleanness." I lodged again with Mr. Plimpton.—Thurs, 7. Went with Mr. Stillman and Mr. Freeman to Boston. Took my lodgings with Mr. Stillman, whom I found to be very agreeable, and engaged for God.—Sat., 10. Preached two sermons for Mr. Stillman in his pulpit, from John 3: 7. I have reason to thank my gracious God, who left me not, but appeared to be with me in speaking, in giving me utterance, and applying the truths delivered, to the hearts of the hearers.

Mr. Smith remained in Boston several weeks, his fervent piety and his remarkable eloquence making a profound impression, even among the people ministered to by Stillman. On Wednesday, June 13, he writes:

Preached at Mr. Stillman's meeting house to a crowded audience, from Solomon's Song 1: 5, "I am black but comely." I was much shut up in my own mind, and grieved after meeting that I had preached so confusedly, being sick of my performance. In the evening, while I was reflecting to my shame upon my performance, I found pride at the bottom of it, and that I was not so much concerned for God's glory as my own good name. Amazing that I should be so left, when not long before I had been sweetly engaged in blessing God for his everlasting love in a Redeemer. But amidst my mortifying exercise two women came to Mr. Stillman's with an earnest request for my stay longer, or to return soon. They said they were persuaded to come and make the request in the behalf of twenty or more. One of the two informed

me she had been refreshed under the evening sermon. They reminded me of the women coming early to the sepulchre.

The next day, Thursday, he set out for Providence, lodging with Nathan Plimpton, in Medfield, and preaching in the neighborhood on Friday, with "much liberty," lodging at Widow White's in Bellingham, and preaching on the Lord's Day in the meeting house to a "solemn assembly," with "much enlargement," preaching two sermons on Monday at Mr. Blackinton's; Wednesday, 20, preaching two sermons in Mr. Weld's meeting house, in Attleborough, to a "large assembly, preaching at Nath Sabine's in Pawtucket, reaching Providence on Thursday, and lodging with Nicholas Tillinghast. The next night, Friday, June 22, as his diary reads, he "lodged with Nicholas Brown."¹ This is the first mention which he makes of one who was through the remainder of his life his sincere admirer, and a warm personal friend. Indeed, he frequently speaks of him in later years as "my good friend Nicholas Brown." On Saturday, he set out on his return. His diary reads in brief, not using his exact words:

Went to Cumberland. Preached at Esquire Whipple's. People did not know how to leave the house after sermon. From thence went

¹Mr. Brown was the oldest of the "Four Brothers," so well known in the annals of Providence as enterprising merchants and distinguished benefactors. He was born July 28, 1729. At the age of ten, he was deprived of a father's care, and, in a measure, thrown upon himself as the senior representative of the family. His first wife was Rhoda Jenckes, daughter of Judge Daniel Jenckes, whose name is conspicuous in the history of the College Charter. On September 9, 1783, he married for his second wife Avis Binney, daughter of Captain Barnabas Binney, of Boston, and a Brother of Barnabas Binney, who was graduated from Rhode Island College in 1774. He died May 29, 1791, in the sixty-third year of his age, leaving two children, viz.: Hon. Nicholas Brown, from whom the University derives its name, and Mrs. Hope Ives, wife of Thomas Poynton Ives, Esq. His remains are in the North Burying Ground, by the side of his beloved friend and revered religious teacher, President Manning. Sketches of the Brown family may be found in my "Life of Manning." See pages 143-176.

to Rev. Carnes' in Rehoboth. Stayed till Monday.—Sab., 24. Preached two sermons for Mr. Carnes. Congregation two thousand. Solemn and affected.—Mon., 25. Went to Rev. Mr. Thatcher's meeting house in Attleborough. Preached to one thousand people or more.—Tues., 26. Accompanied Mr. Edwards to Boston. Lodged with Mr. Stillman.

On Friday, July 6, Mr. Smith set out on his journey towards Haverhill. There were no Baptist Churches in this direction. Indeed, according to Backus, there was but one Baptist Church in all the region north of Boston at this date, and that one was soon afterwards disbanded. He thus gives utterance to his feelings in view of the important step which he was taking:

I left town and went through Charlestown, Lynn, Salem, Beverly to Chebacco, to the Rev. Mr. Cleaveland's.¹ As I was going to Chebacco, a dreary gloom surrounded me, and I was so discouraged, that I concluded to hasten as far Eastward as I intended to travel, and so speedily return towards Providence; but when I got to Mr. Cleaveland's I was encouraged. Tarried all night. Had very agreeable conversation with Mrs. Cleaveland and one or two of the family. Mr. Cleaveland was not at home. I was pressed to stay over the Lord's Day, which I consented to.

The narrative of Mr. Smith's labors on that day, and for succeeding weeks, can be briefly told. He attended meetings almost daily, and preached to anxious crowds in

¹ Rev. John Cleaveland, who was expelled from Yale College while a senior, for attending with his parents while at his home in Canterbury, Connecticut, during vacation, in 1744, a meeting of Separatists. Twenty years afterwards Rector Clap sent him his degree. His name appears in the catalogue with the class of 1743. Having obtained a license to preach, he ministered to a Separate Society in Boston, and finally accepted a call from the Parish of Chebacco, in Ipswich, now the town of Essex. He was ordained in February, 1747. The church was called at the time, "A Separation in Chebacco Parish," being a secession from the Rev. Mr. Pickering's. Here he ministered fifty-two years, or until his death. In 1763, there was a powerful revival of religion in his church. He was an active patriot during the war, and served as a Chaplain at Cambridge, while in the same camp were two of his brothers and all four of his sons. Mr. Smith, who followed in his "evangelizing tour" the "New Lights," was very naturally attracted to Chebacco by Mr. Cleaveland's fame as an able preacher and a decided "Separatist."

Chelacco, Rowley, Ipswich, Byfield, Newbury, and other places. His diary indicates in brief the character of his work:

Sab. July 8. Preached in Mr. Cleaveland's meeting house in Chelacco in the forenoon, from Luke 14: 22, and in the afternoon from Prov. 1: 24. I have no reason to doubt but that the Lord blessed both sermons. Many of the people appeared to be so filled with a sense of divine things that after service they spake vehemently.—Mon., 9. I preached from Col. 3: 4. After meeting was dismissed the people did not know how to leave. I gave them an exhortation after singing a hymn. The prayer and exhortation were much blessed. I was informed of three that were awakened under the exhortation.—Fri., 10. I had Christians and persons concerned visit me at Mr. Cleaveland's. An agreeable day.—Wed., 11. Preached again, from "And while he was yet a coming, the devil threw him down and tare him."—Fri., 13. Finished the discourse on this text. The Lord helped me to preach, and I trust directed the word to several.—Thurs., 12. Went to Ipswich town and preached for Rev. Mr. Rogers,¹ from Rev. 1: 5. There was some small appearance of God; nothing that I heard of extraordinary.—Mon. 16. Preached a farewell sermon to Mr. Cleaveland's people, from 2 Cor. 13: 11, which stirred them as well as the sermons of the day before. After the sermon the pulpit was soon filled with women and some men. As it was on the Lord's Day they were much engaged in talk to me while in the congregation; some were rejoicing in the love of God, some were exhorting, and others were crying out under a sense of their lost condition. That evening Mr. Cleaveland came home. He had been absent the whole time of my continuance here.—Tues., 17. Mr. Cleaveland carried me in a chaise to Rowley, where I preached in the afternoon for the Rev. Mr. Jewett,² from Luke 24: 47. Some were affected. Then I went that evening to Newbury, to Mr. Little's, in his chaise, whose house I made my home while I stayed in town.—Wednes., 18. Preached for Mr. Parsons,³ from Luke 2: 10. I trust some were agreeably refreshed by

¹ Rev. John Rogers. He was ordained, in 1744, as Pastor of the Congregational Church in the Fourth, or Town Parish. The society is now extinct.

² Rev. Jedediah Jewett, who was Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Rowley from 1729 till 1774, when he died, aged 68. He was born in Rowley, graduated at Harvard in 1726, and settled, as the successor of Edward Payson. He published a sermon at the ordination of D. Tappan.

³ Rev. Moses Parsons, who was Pastor of the Byfield Parish, in Newbury, nearly

the sermon. In the evening I attended a private meeting where I sang, prayed, and exhorted. Several were much engaged. It was a good meeting.—*Sab., 22.* In the forenoon I heard the Rev. Mr. Baldwin preach from these words: "And Enoch walked with God." It was a good discourse. In the afternoon I preached from Matt. 7: 13; and at 6 o'clock I preached again in the Rev. Parsons' meeting house, from Heb. 2: 3, as it was supposed to about four thousand people. The two discourses I hope found entrance with proper light into many hearts. May the Lord carry on his work. The people continued in the meeting house, exhorting, etc., till 9 o'clock at night.

The late Rev. Dr. Train, in his Centennial Discourse¹ delivered at Haverhill in 1865, thus comments on this record:—"The population of Newbury, Old Town, West Newbury, and Newburyport at that time, was about 5,800. In this population there were five ministers and churches, besides the one in Byfield. If, in addition to the attendants at all these other churches, there were *three thousand* present to hear Mr. Smith, his preaching must have made an impression in the community second only to that of Whitefield." The commencement of Mr. Smith's labors in Haverhill may appropriately form a separate chapter.

Sixty years, having been ordained in June, 1744. He had nine children, one of whom, Hon. Theophilus Parsons, was for many years Chief Justice of Massachusetts, and one of the most eminent of American jurists. He was graduated at Harvard in 1736. He was eminent, says his biographer, as a gentleman, a Christian, a divine, and a preacher. He published the Election Sermon of 1772; the Ordination Sermon of J. Dana, in 1765; and the Ordination Sermon of O. Parsons, in 1773.

¹"Centennial Discourse delivered on the one hundredth anniversary of the organization of the Baptist Church, Haverhill, Mass., May 9, 1865. By Arthur Savage Train. With an account of the Centennial Celebration, and Historical Notes. 8vo, Boston, 1865."

CHAPTER II.

**HAVERHILL—BAPTIST CHURCH—OPPOSITION OF STANDING ORDER—
—LAWS RELATING TO ANABAPTISTS—HOUSE OF WORSHIP—
RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE—INSTALLATION.**

1764-1766.

Haverhill—Smith's first visit to—Preaches in the West Parish—Samuel Bacheller—Religious awakening—Mary—Peter Carlton—John Choate—Preaches in various towns—James Chandler—Samuel Chandler—Ebenezer Cleveland—George Leslie—Samuel Perley—Jonathan Parsons—Whitefield—Ebenezer Little—John Emerson—Smith's second visit to Haverhill—Samuel Hovey—Abner Bailey—Henry True—Lodges for the first time in Haverhill town, in the family of John White—Simon Ayres—White's Corner—Large attendance at evening worship—Incident in Smith's life, or spiritual impressions—Returns to Providence and Warren, accompanied by John White—Visit to New York and New Jersey—Returns to Haverhill with President Manning—Decides to make Haverhill his home—Application to First Parish for use of the meeting-house for Baptist worship—Evening lectures—Temporary meeting-house under Mr. Colby's roof—James Duncan—Organization of a Baptist Society—Taken leave of the West Parish—First baptism—William Greenleaf—Second baptism—Opposition from the Standing Order—Church constituted—Certificates in accordance with the law of the Province—Laws of Massachusetts in reference to Baptists and Quakers—John Proctor and a Remonstrance to the Assembly at Boston in 1734—Flagrant injustice at Haverhill in case of John White—Erection of meeting-house—Opposition of the Standing Order intensified—Smith persecuted—Order of Baptist worship—Terms of Settlement as pastor—Visit from John Gano—Three John Whites—Elected Fellow of Rhode Island College—Second meeting of the Corporation at Newport—John Gardner—Early history of the College—Visit to the Jerseys—Samuel Jones—Returns to Haverhill—Visit from Samuel Jones—Attends a Fast at Hampton—Baptists publicly denounced by the preacher, David McGregor—Baptism and Close Communion—Repeal of the Stamp Act—Conference with Manning respecting an Association—Visit to the Jerseys—Baptizes his mother—John Sutton—Returns to Haverhill—Installed as pastor of the Baptist Church—Extract from a Sketch of Smith by Rev. Dr. Hill.

Mr. Chase, in his elaborate "History of Haverhill,"¹ says:—"The First Baptist Church and Society in this

¹ "The History of Haverhill, Massachusetts, from its first settlement, in 1640, to the year 1800." By George Wingate Chase. 8vo, Haverhill, 1861. 1 p. xx, 663.

town had its origin in a casual visit of the Rev. Hezekiah Smith in the autumn of the year 1764. . . . His preaching was attended with remarkable success. At first, he ministered in the pulpits of the 'Standing Order,' but when converts were multiplied, and there were indications that a church of 'Separatists,' under the 'New Light' leader, would be organized, these pulpits were closed against him." Backus adds:—"Before the revival of religion, which took place in 1764, there was no Baptist Church in any part of our country northward of Boston, except one that is since dissolved. The ministers on both sides of Merrimack River were combined together against the former reformation in our land; and though a few people in Haverhill were subjects of that work, and set up a meeting in separation from those ministers, yet it did not continue long. But a minister¹ of the West Parish in Haverhill offended his people so much, as to cause controversies in councils, and publications to the world, which were followed with a forcible shutting of him out of their meeting house, and then a dismission from his office there. And the people saw so much partiality in other ministers towards him, that they would not be directed by them in calling another minister; therefore they had been destitute for some years before Mr. Hezekiah Smith came and preached to them."

Mr. Smith made his first visit to this beautiful and flourishing town, which henceforth for more than forty

¹ Rev. Samuel Bacheller, a graduate of Harvard College, in the Class of 1731, and a man of superior talent and attainments. He was ordained as Pastor of the Church in the West Parish in the summer of 1733. He had financial and other difficulties, and he was accused of preaching heresies. After sharp controversies, the publication of several pamphlets, and the calling of several councils, he was finally removed from his position as Pastor, October 9, 1761. He continued, however, to reside in town. In 1769, and again in 1776, he was chosen a Representative.

years was to be his home, and the centre of his labors and wide-spread influence, on Friday, July 27. As has already been stated, he preached at first, and for several months in the Congregational Church of the West Parish, which for three years had been without a pastor. A great religious interest was presently awakened in all parts of the town, and soon the church was crowded with attentive hearers. A meeting of the Society was called, and a committee was appointed to wait upon the preacher, with a request that he would become their permanent pastor. As he at first declined, they urged their request, until he was compelled to tell them frankly, what no one had until then even suspected, that he was a Baptist. This, of course, ended the matter, as also his further services as a stated, or permanent, supply in that Parish. Previous to 1765, says the local historian, there was but one church, one meeting house, and one form of religious worship in each of the four parishes; and but one form or standard of religious faith. The "Established Church" in the town, and indeed in the colony, was the "Orthodox Congregational" Church. No other system of worship was even tolerated. The Baptists, as a sect, were especially despised, and, like their prototypes of old, "everywhere spoken against." Even in the statute laws of the "Province of Massachusetts Bay" they were for many years, as late as until 1770, called "Anabaptists," a term of reproach which they never acknowledged, and which associated them with the fanaticisms and disorders of Münster.

But, though the pulpit of the West Parish was now closed against Mr. Smith, there were those among his hearers who sympathized with the "Separates," and were ready to unite with him in the formation of a new

Society. Among them were several wealthy and prominent citizens of "Haverhill Town," or the First Parish. Through their influence a dwelling house was speedily turned into a "new meeting house," which in turn gave place to a substantial and permanent structure. A Baptist Church was constituted, which, in less than three years, numbered upwards of one hundred members. With this church, Mr. Smith continued in harmonious relations, as pastor, for forty-one years, or until his death. A movement like this, so interesting in its beginnings, and so important and far reaching in its results, can best be given in the author's own words. We need offer no apology, therefore, for transcribing freely from the diary of this period:—

Friday, July 27, 1764. Went to Mr. Chandler's in New Rowley,¹ being accompanied by Rev. Parsons, Tingley, Noyes, and his brother. Preached at New Rowley in Mr. Chandler's meeting house, from Eze. 33: 11. Several were affected. After service I went with Tingley to Haverhill and preached for him in the afternoon in the West Parish, from Eze. 33: 11. The Lord was with me. In the evening I went to Mr. Tingley's lodgings at Mr. Carlton's,² where a considerable number of people assembled. I exhorted them from the 2d chapter of Matthew.—Sat., 28. Went to Ipswich town, to Col. Choate's.³ Lodged there.—Sat., 29. Preached in Mr. Walley's meeting house, that was, two discourses, from John 3: 3, with considerable freedom.—Mon., 30. Went to Chelacco to Mr. Cleaveland's. Preached in the afternoon in his meeting house, from Isa. 44: 3. Some got their hearts warmed.—Tues. 31. Went with Mr. Cleaveland to Cape Ann, or rather Gloucester.

¹ The western part of Rowley, now Georgetown. Rev. James Chandler, a native of Andover, was settled as Pastor of the Congregational Church here in 1732. He died in 1789, aged 83.

² Peter Carlton, one of the substantial and prominent citizens of the West Parish. His beautiful farm, says Dr. Train, is now owned and occupied by his grandson, Mr. John Carlton.

³ Hon. John Choate, ancestor of the late Rufus Choate, of Boston. He was a prominent and useful citizen of the town, and for many years a member of the Board of Councilors of the State.

ter, and preached in Mr. Chandler's¹ meeting house, from Isa. 3: 10 and 11. In the evening, exhorted at Mr. Ashel's, where we lodged.—Wed., Aug. 1. Preached for the Rev. John Rogers, in Gloucester, from Gal. 5: 7, which discourse the Lord enabled me to deliver with clearness and faithfulness, and which I trust was blessed. After sermon I went to the Rev. Ebenezer Cleaveland's,² in Sandy Bay. Thursday I preached in Mr. Cleaveland's meeting house in the forenoon, from Jer. 6: 16, which sermon I hope was blessed. In the afternoon I went to Annisquam, and preached in the meeting house, from Jer. 6: 16, which discourse I began at Mr. Cleaveland's. Returned after sermon to Mr. Cleaveland's and heard his brother preach the same evening.—Fri., 3. Went through Dogtown to Doct. Plumer's, from thence to the Harbor, and from thence to the Rev. Richard Jacques', in whose meeting house I preached from these words:—"For by grace are ye saved, through faith." Had not time to finish my discourse, which I finished the next day at Mr. Cleaveland's, in Chebacco.—Sab. 5. Preached in Ipswich, in the South Parish, to a large assembly, which discourse appeared to have considerable effect on the auditory. I made Col. Choate's my home.—Mon. 6. After breakfast I went to the Rev. Mr. Leslie's,³ about five miles from Ipswich. Preached in the afternoon in his meeting house, from John 1: 23, and in the evening at the Rev. Jewett's, from Isa. 9: 6 and 7. The Lord was with me, and gave me to feel the truths. I spoke them with clearness, and applied them, as I trust, by his Spirit, to the consciences of several. A number stayed after the sermon who did not know how to leave the house. They felt that they were in a lost condition without a Saviour. I stayed there all night, and the next day went with the Rev. Messrs. Leslie, Tingley, and Perley⁴ to Newbury, where

¹ The Rev. Samuel Chandler, Pastor of the Congregational Church in the First Parish, or Harbor. The church is now Unitarian. Mr. Chandler was settled in 1751.

² A brother of John Cleaveland, who was also expelled from Yale College, in 1741, for attending a meeting of Separatists, during a vacation, at his home in Canterbury, Connecticut. His degree, however, was conferred upon him some years afterward. In the Catalogue, he is mentioned as a graduate in the Class of 1748. He went to Sandy Bay, now called Rockport, in 1751, and was settled as Pastor of the church in 1753, remaining there twenty years.

³ The Rev. George Leslie, son of James Leslie, of Topsfield, a Scotchman. He was graduated at Harvard in 1748; ordained at Linebrook, in Ipswich, in 1749; and dismissed in 1779. He published several sermons.

⁴ The Rev. Samuel Perley. He was ordained as Pastor of the Presbyterian Church and Congregation in Hampton Falls, New Hampshire, January 31, 1763. The Rev. George Leslie, who had known him intimately from boyhood, preached

they held a Fast. I heard the Rev. Parsons and Leslie preach two good discourses, and at 6 o'clock I preached in Mr. Parson's¹ meeting house,² from "The righteous hath hope in his death," which discourse I hope was blessed. In the evening I gave an exhortation at Elder Little's,³—Wed. 8. Went to the Rev. Parsons at Ryfield (whom I heard preach the day before in Newbury) with Mr. Tingley, and

his ordination sermon, which was published. A copy of it is in the Metcalf Collection of pamphlets in the Library of Brown University. The charge to the candidate was given by the Rev. David McTear, of Londonderry; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by the Rev. John Cleaveland, of Chelacco, in Ipswich; the address to the congregation, by the Rev. Jonathan Parsons, of Newburyport.

¹ The Rev. Jonathan Parsons, first Pastor of the Presbyterian Church and Society in Newburyport. He was born in West Springfield, Massachusetts, November 30, 1705; was graduated at Yale in 1729; studied theology with Jonathan Edwards; was ordained as Pastor of the Congregational Church in Lyme, Connecticut, in March, 1731. During the time when Whitefield and Tennent were preaching throughout New England with such remarkable power and success, his mind underwent a great change in regard to the doctrines of the gospel, and the nature of Christian experience, and he became one of the "New Lights." These two illustrious itinerants, or evangelists, repeatedly visited Lyme, and they were always Mr. Parsons' guests. As a result of all this, he was summarily dismissed from his pastoral charge. At the suggestion of Whitefield, he visited Newburyport, where he found nineteen persons who had left the Rev. Mr. Lowell's Church in Newburyport, and the Rev. Mr. Tucker's in Newbury, in consequence of the Whitefield excitement. A new church was formed, and in March, 1746, he assumed the pastoral charge. This church was gradually enlarged, until it became one of the largest in New England. In this vast congregation he labored with great zeal and success during the remainder of his days. He died, July 19, 1776. His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. John Scarle, of Salisbury, New Hampshire. It was afterwards published. A copy of it is in the Metcalf Collection of pamphlets in the Library of Brown University.

² The Society erected at first a house of worship on High Street, and in 1756 the spacious house on Federal Street, where Smith preached, as above recorded. Here Whitefield also preached; and here, beneath the pulpit, repose his remains, together with those of his faithful friend, the pastor. Mr. Whitefield died very suddenly in Mr. Parsons' house, Sunday morning, September 30, 1770. Mr. Parsons preached his funeral sermon, which was afterwards published. It was printed in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and dedicated to "The Honorable Countess of Huntingdon." The Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Whitaker, of Salem, also preached a funeral sermon, which was published. Both sermons are in the Metcalf Collection. The fine cenotaph erected in the church to the memory of Whitefield, states that, in a ministry of thirty-four years, he crossed the Atlantic thirteen times, and preached more than eighteen thousand sermons.

³ Ebenezer Little, one of the Elders of the Presbyterian Church in Newburyport. He was a prominent and useful citizen, and very active in the church. He died, July 30, 1768, aged 53. His pastor, Mr. Parsons, preached his funeral sermon, which was published. A copy of it is in the Metcalf Collection. In it he states that the Elder "was very hospitable to godly strangers, and eminently so to Christian ministers," whom he delighted to entertain at his house. "He was also a liberal

preached in his meeting house, from Canticles 1: 5, to a large assembly. In the evening I exhorted at Benjamin Coldman's. A great number attended. I hope the exhortation was blessed. Conversed with several who appeared to be in distress. Lodged there.—Thurs. 9. I went to Ipswich Town. Preached in the South Parish meeting house to a crowded assembly, from these words:—"Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men." The assembly was solid, and a number appeared to receive the discourse in the power of divine truth. Lodged at Mr. Choate's.—Fri. 10. I preached to a large assembly in Mr. Roger's meeting house in Ipswich Town, from Luke 2: 11, with much clearness in my own mind. After sermon I went to Chelacco, to Mr. Cleaveland's, where I stayed till the Monday following.—Sabb. 12. I preached a sermon in Mr. Cleaveland's meeting house, from Ps. 42: 1, which I trust was blessed. After sermon I attended the funeral of Mrs. Low, at whose grave I spoke from the time they began to cover the coffin until they finished covering it. In the evening, I spoke to a number of people at Mr. Cleaveland's, which exhortation I trust was blessed to several. A great travelling spirit appeared among Christians, and some were much concerned to know what they should do to be saved.—Mon. 13. Went to the Rev. Mr. Emerson's,¹ in Topsfield, in whose meeting house I preached, from John 5: 25. After sermon I went home with the Rev. Mr. Leslie, in Linbrook, and spent the evening very agreeably.—Tues., 14. Went to Mr. Chandler's in New Rowley, being accompanied by the Rev. Messrs. Leslie and Perley. Preached in the Rev. Chandler's meeting house in the afternoon, from "What must I do to be saved?" It was a very solemn assembly, and I have reason to judge that the discourse was blessed from above. Oh, may the Lord continue his blessing.

Wed. 15. Preached at Haverhill, in the West Parish, from Acts 10: 33. The hearts of several were much affected. After the sermon I went to Mr. Ladd's, where I gave an exhortation, which was blessed very remarkably. God was with us of a truth. After the exhortation I went home with Peter Carlton.

This was Mr. Smith's second visit to Haverhill. During the nineteen days that had passed since his first

benefactor of the poor." Beneath his hospitable roof Mr. Smith found a pleasant home.

¹ The Rev. John Emerson, Pastor of the Congregational Church in Topsfield. He was ordained in 1728, and died in 1774.

visit, he had preached almost daily, as his journal records, in the neighboring towns of New Rowley (Georgetown), Ipswich, Sandy Bay (Rockport), Chelacco (Essex), Gloucester, Linebrook, Topsfield, and Newbury, with great acceptance, and to crowded assemblies. He had been kindly received by the pastors of the several Congregational Churches in these towns, had been hospitably entertained at their homes, and had been accompanied by some of them in his "evangelizing tour." From this time onward his labors are chiefly in the West Parish of Haverhill.

Thurs., Sept. 16. Went to the Rev. Samuel Hovey's¹ meeting house, in Newtown, in Hampshire government, accompanied by several. Preached in the afternoon, from Isa. 40: 1, and after that gave an exhortation, which was much owned to a number. There were many after I had concluded, crying out, some rejoicing, and others inquiring what they should do to be saved.—Fri., 17. Went to Haverhill, and in the evening gave two exhortations at Mr. John Hazen-ton's. Then went to Mr. Carlton's.—Saty. Prepared for the Lord's Day.—Sab., 19. Preached in the Haverhill meeting house two sermons, from John 5: 24, and in the evening gave an exhortation at Mr. Carlton's. The service of the day I trust was owned.—Mon., 20. Rested at Mr. Carlton's by studying and talking.—Tues., 21. Preached at New Salem, in Mr. Bailey's² meeting house, by the consent of the people, at least the greater part of them. Mr. Bailey left the place, and was much offended at my preaching in his parish. I was informed that there had not been a lecture preached in his meeting house before for twelve or fourteen years. He was so offended with a hired girl in his house for coming to hear me, and refusing to promise never to come to hear me again, that he turned her out of his house. His wife was not more pleased than himself. She offered on the Lecture

¹ Mr. Hovey was a Separatist, mentioned by Backus in his history, who afterwards became a Baptist. He was ordained at Mendon, Massachusetts, May 31, 1749.

² The Rev. Abner Bailey, who was ordained as Pastor of the Congregational Church in Salem, New Hampshire, January 30, 1740. He was born in Newbury, Massachusetts, January 19, 1716; graduated at Harvard, in 1736; and died, March 10, 1796.

Day to make a dinner for all the parish that would come, and promise not to attend the lecture; but she did not get one to come. When this failed, she went to a house where a man's wife lay dead, and proposed that she should be buried at the time when the meeting was to begin; but she failed in this. She got the people of the house willing, but the friends of the deceased in the neighborhood would not attend till after the sermon. She threatened to sue her maid for a gown, which she let her have but a few days before, if she attempted to attend. But her maid would attend, which exposed her to her frowns. Mr. Bailey laid his commands on his family before he left home for not one to attend. I preached from Rev. 6: 2. The Lord was with me. The congregation was much affected. One woman of the place, who was never under soul exercise by information before, cried out in the congregation. Although some of the opposers declared that there should be blood shed if I went into the pulpit, I met with no molestation. After sermon I went to Mr. Jones' and gave an exhortation, when the power of the Lord was displayed. Several were struck under concern, and Christians were much quickened.—Fri., 24. Went to Mr. Wheeler's in Salem, and gave an exhortation. In the afternoon I went to Mr. George Corlies', and preached from John 5: 13. Was pleased to see a great number much concerned for their souls. Then went to Mr. Carlton's.—Sat., 25. Stayed at Mr. Carlton's.—Sabb., 26. Preached from Eccl. 12: 1. The power of God was there indeed. I have heard of numbers who that day were struck under concern. About six in the afternoon I gave an exhortation.—Mon., 27. I went, being accompanied by Mr. Emery, to Mr. Nathaniel Noyes', who was not at home. There I met thirteen friends from Newbury. South Hampton, where Mr. Noyes lives, is about ten miles from Newbury. Returned the same day with Mr. Emery to Haverhill.—Tues., 28. Went to Hampstead, and preached for the Rev. Mr. True¹, who behaved well. I had there the Rev. Messrs. Colton and Page to hear me. Preached from Rev. 1: 7. The assembly was very solemn. After service I went home with Mrs. White in Haverhill Town, wife of John White. Lodged there.

Mr. Smith, it thus appears, lodged for the first time in "Haverhill Town" on Tuesday, August 28, in the

¹ The Rev. Henry True. He was ordained as Pastor of the church in Hampstead, June 2, 1752. He died, May 22, 1782, having, says his biographer, lived a pious and useful life.

family of John White, a prominent and wealthy citizen, familiarly known as "Merchant White." Mr. White became one of the leading members of the Baptist Society. His name appears in the annals of the town, as one who was afterwards "distressed" for refusing to pay taxes for the support of Congregational worship.

Wed., 29. Preached in Plaistow meeting house, from Matt. 5: 20. The congregation was solid. After sermon I went home with Mr. Emery, and gave an exhortation in the evening. A good evening it was too. Several were much affected.—Thurs., 30. Went to Mr. Carlton's, and in the evening gave an exhortation at Richard Young's. Then returned to Mr. Carlton's, which is my home in Haverhill.—Fri., 31. Went to Methuen, and preached in Mr. Sergeant's¹ meeting house. He did not send for me, but the chief part of his congregation, or parish, subscribed for my coming. When I got to the meeting house I concluded to go to Mr. Sergeant's before meeting. When I entered his house he received me kindly, and soon prepared himself for meeting. He conducted me into the pulpit. I preached from Eph. 2: 8. After sermon, Mr. Sergeant asked me to his house, thanked me for my discourse, and said it was very agreeable to him, etc. The same afternoon I went to Mr. Jacob Whittier's, and gave them an exhortation above an hour in length. I believe that the Spirit of God constrained me to speak, and gave power to my words, so that they sunk deep into the hearts of many. The power of God was visible among us. I lodged that evening at Mr. John Bodwell's, and the next day went to Mr. Carlton's.—Sat., Sept. 2. Preached in Haverhill meeting house, from Rom. 8: 28., two sermons. We had a very crowded, solemn assembly. Towards evening I gave an exhortation in the meeting house.—Mon., 3. Tarried all day at Mr. Carlton's, and was visited by several of the parish, some Christians and some under concern.—Tues., 4. Preached at Mr. Daniel Ladd's, from 1 Peter 4: 18. Not any remarkable effort. After sermon I went to John Smith's, and gave an exhortation, which I trust, through grace, was much blessed. One person, Rachel Clement by name, professed to have met with a change that evening. The whole family was much affected. That same evening the Rev. Mr. Bailey sent me a letter,

¹ The first church in Methuen was formed in 1729, and the Rev. Christopher Sergeant was ordained Pastor the same year. He died in 1799.

requesting me not to come and preach any more in his parish.—Wed., 5. Went and preached in the New Salem meeting house, from Mark 16: 15. The power of God appeared in the assembly. After sermon I gave an exhortation in the meeting house, which I believe was blessed. Oh, that God would destroy the strong holds of Satan! In the evening I gave another exhortation at Mr. Johnson's, in New Salem, where the religious stir exceeded, I think, any that I have ever seen. One that evening, Hannah Over, professed to have met Christ, or rather to have had him revealed to her. She was in great distress before she found comfort. Oh that I might be so happy as to be continually at such good meetings! I lodged there that night.—Thurs., 6. Went to Mr. John Keeze's and gave an exhortation, after which I went to John White's in town, and stayed there to my satisfaction till Sat., 8, and then went to Mr. Carlton's.—Sab., 9. I gave the people three discourses, from Luke 14: 16-25, in Haverhill West Parish meeting house. A large assembly, and very solemn.—Mon., 10. Preached in Plaistow meeting house, from Ex. 32: 20. Not much visible appearance of God. In the evening I went to Mr. Wolher's, in Plaistow, and gave an exhortation, which I trust was blessed. The people were much affected.—Tues., 11. Preached in Newtown for the Rev. Mr. Hovey, from 2 Cor. 3: 6, to a thronged assembly. After meeting went home with Mr. John White in Haverhill, but stayed at Captain Ayres'. I gave an exhortation.—Wed., 12. Went to Don. Ayres' and gave an exhortation.—Thurs., 13. Went to Methuen. Preached in the meeting house, from Isa. 61: 2. In the evening gave an exhortation at Mr. Whittier's.—Fri., 14. Gave an exhortation at Mr. Cross's, and after that in the evening at Mr. Mosser's, which exhortation was much blessed. Several were awakened that evening.—Sat., 15. Went to Mr. Carlton's.—Sab., 16. Preached two sermons, from 2 Cor. 3: 6, at the request of some friends, and afterwards gave an exhortation, which I trust was much owned. Then went home with John White.—Mon., 17. Gave an exhortation at Mr. Smith's in the West Parish. The assembly was solemn and affected. Lodged there.—Tues., 18. Dined at Capt. Bodwell's, and then preached at the New Salem meeting house, from Mark 16: 16. God owned the discourse much. Almost the whole congregation was affected. In the evening, I exhorted at Mr. Richard Dow's, where there were many under concern. Lodged there, and the next day I attended the funeral of Mr. George Corlies' wife. Gave an exhortation at the house, and afterwards spoke a few words at the grave. The same evening gave an exhortation at Mr. Joseph Haynes'.—Thurs., 20.

Went with John White in his chaise to Newbury, and called upon the Rev. Mr. Hibbert (Thos.) in Amesbury, who used me well. That evening I exhorted at Mr. Jeremiah Parsons', in Newbury.

Mr. White was the only person in Haverhill who owned a chaise at this time. It was a large, heavy-wheeled, square-topped vehicle, used only "to ride to meeting in" on the Lord's Day, and on great and important occasions. They were, of course, expensive, and only the wealthy could afford them. To be carried therefore by Mr. White "in his chaise" was a matter worthy, in Mr. Smith's estimation, of special mention.

Fri., 21. Preached in Mr. Parsons' meeting house, from Isa. 42: 11. The service began between 6 and 7 in the morning. After sermon we went to Haverhill, and I preached in the afternoon at Mr. Thos. Bailey's, from Prov. 16: 31. After service I went to Simon Ayres' and gave an exhortation. That evening I changed my lodgings from Mr. Carlton's to Deacon Ayres'.¹—Sat., 22. Prepared for the Sabbath.—Sabb., 23. Preached two sermons, from 2 Peter 1: 10, and then gave an exhortation, which was much blessed, to Christians and others. I went home with Mr. John White and lodged there.—Mon., 24. Went to visit David Carlton's wife in Plimstow, who was sick. She talked so that I was not able to form a judgment respecting her. Afterwards I went to Mr. Page's and gave an exhortation. That evening lodged at his father's.—Tues., 25. Went to John White's in Haverhill, and when we attended prayers several neighbors were present. I spoke at length from the hymn we sang.—Wed., 26. Went to Methuen and preached in that meeting house, from Isa. 62: 1. After service I went to Mr. Whittier's and gave an exhortation, which was accompanied with power.—Thurs., 27. I went to Dea. Ayres'.—Fri., 28. I preached in the West Parish meeting house, from Acts 13: 41, and after service I gave an exhortation at John Silver's, where there was a great stir. One that evening professed to have met with a change. After exhortation I returned to Deacon

¹ Deacon Simon Ayres was one of the solid men of the West Parish, and a lifelong and devoted friend of Mr. Smith. His residence was beautifully situated on the southwesterly slope of Silver's Hill.

Ayres', where I stayed until the Sabbath.—Sabb., 30. Preached two sermons more from Acts 13: 41. I began the discourses on Friday. After service I exhorted with success. The work appears to grow in these parts fast. I went to Dea. Ayres' after exhortation.—Mon., Oct. 1. Went to Mr. John White's in town. He went with me to Mrs. Leach's, who labors under great temptations of various kinds. She is tempted to think she has committed the unpardonable sin. I talked and prayed with her, and then returned to Mr. John White's, where I had a number of friends to see me. Exhorted and prayed with them.—Tues., 2. Went to Mr. Nathan Perley's, in Methuen, where I exhorted.—Wed., 3. Went to New Salem. Preached in the meeting house, from James 1: 22. I felt very heavy and found it hard work to preach. Was glad when the sermon was finished, and felt so fatigued and discouraged, that I gave no exhortation among them that evening, but returned to Deacon Ayres'. On my way I called at Mr. Perley's, whose wife expressed herself in very animating way, telling me she could now rejoice in Christ.—Thurs., 4. Went to town and heard the Rev. Mr. Sims preach. The sermon was so so. I lodged that night at Mr. John White's, when a great number assembled, to whom, after I had read a chapter and sang a Psalm, I gave an exhortation with much freedom.—Fri., 5. Went to Mr. Greeley's, to the burying of one of his family, where I exhorted, and then returned to Deacon Ayres'.—Sat., 6. Prepared for the Sabbath.—Sabb., 7.—Preached two sermons from John 6: 37. "All that the Father giveth me shall come to me." After the sermons I gave an exhortation. I found my soul much engaged and enlarged. In the evening, I heard the Rev. Mr. Worcester preach, and then went to Deacon Ayres'.—Mon., 8. Improved my time in reading and talking.—Tues., 9. Spent my time in reading and talking until evening, when I went to Mr. John White's in town. Attended family duty, gave an exhortation, and then went to Esquire Samuel White's and lodged.—Wed., 10. Went to Methuen, and preached two sermons, from Isa. 62: 1, with much freedom. After sermons, I went to Mr. Atkins and gave an exhortation, which I trust was greatly blessed. One in particular, Morse by name, professed to have had Christ manifested to her under the exhortation. After the exhortation I went to Deacon Ayres'.—Thurs., 11. Went to Esquire White's in town, and in the evening, when I attended family duty, I spake, as was supposed, to several hundred. The power of God was apparent among the people. Oh that the time might now come when Haverhill town might be as one man in God's service!—Fri., 12. Heard the Rev. John Emerson preach two ser-

mons in the West Parish meeting house.—Sat., 13. Went to Topsfield, and preached on the Lord's Day for the Rev. Mr. Emerson two sermons, from Exd. 11: 9. After the sermons I gave an exhortation in the meeting house. These exercises I trust were owned by God. Oh that the work might be wonderful in Topsfield!—Mon., 15. Went to Haverhill with Jacob Ayres, who went to bear me company. That evening I was at Esquire White's, and when I attended family duty I spake to the people who assembled, I suppose some three or four hundred.

The house of Esquire Samuel White then stood on a slight eminence on the northwest corner of Main and Merrimack Streets, the site afterwards occupied by the post-office. It has long been familiarly known as White's Corner. The population of the whole town of Haverhill, says Dr. Train, in his Centennial Discourse on that 15th of October, was nineteen hundred and twenty, of which less than one-half resided in the village. What must have been the state of religious feeling which induced three or four hundred of a population of less than a thousand persons to flock to a private house, to be present at the evening worship of the family? The fact that Mr. Smith had declared himself to be a Baptist to the Committee from the Congregational Church in the West Parish, and that already efforts were being made to secure his permanent services in Haverhill town, or the First Parish, would account in part for such an unusual gathering.

Tues., 16. Went to Mr. Perley's in the West Parish, and gave an exhortation there that evening.—Wed., 17. Went to New Salem, where I preached in the afternoon in the meeting house, and in the evening gave an exhortation at Benj. Wheeler's. I am satisfied God was with me, and sent the word home with power. Several were awakened.—Thurs., 18. I went to Daniel Ladd's and gave an exhortation in the evening. A great solemnity was in the assembly,

and Christians were revived.—Fri., 19. Preached in the meeting house, from Isa. 53: 1, and a blessed meeting it was.—Sat., 20. Prepared for the Sabbath. Scarcely ever have I had so good a week as the last. I had several friends from Newbury with me during most of the time, and I have found my soul remarkably engaged.—Sabb., 21. Preached two sermons, from Deut. 30: 19, with much eagerness, and then gave an exhortation. Retired to Deacon Ayres' and gave another exhortation in the evening. The exercises of the day were I trust blessed.—Mon., 22. Set out for Rhode Island.

I may here allude to an incident in the life of Mr. Smith, which first appeared in the March number of the "American Baptist Magazine" for 1818, under the heading "IMPRESSIONS," and which was furnished by the Rev. Dr. Chaplin, late President of Waterville College. Dr. Chaplin was born in Rowley, and his mother was one of the young people to whom reference is made in the narrative. It was repeated in a series of articles furnished by the Rev. Dr. S. P. Hill, nearly half a century ago, for the "Watchman"; again by Rev. Dr. S. F. Smith, in the admirable sketch which he prepared for Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit"; and, lastly, in Cathcart's "Baptist Cyclopaedia," where it reads as follows:

Mr. Smith now resolved to return to New Jersey, where several of his relatives resided. The day was fixed for his departure from the scene of his labors and successes. In the morning, several young persons came to visit him, deeply affected by the prospect of losing their loved and revered teacher, by whose instrumentality they had been brought to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ. They exhibited their ardent affection towards him, and expressed the wish that he would baptize them. Still they found him fixed in his determination. Notwithstanding, they ventured to utter their conviction that he would soon return and be their minister. He replied, "If I return, your prayers will bring me back." The same day he proceeded to Boston, and the day following commenced his journey to Providence. But

after he had advanced fifteen or twenty miles, the words were impressed with unusual weight on his mind: "Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees. Say to them that are of a fearful heart, Be strong, fear not; behold, your God will come with vengeance, even God with a recompense; he will come and save you." Stopping his horse, he mused awhile on the occurrence. He soon proceeded, but was shortly after arrested again by the same passage. Yielding to the impulse, he turned his horse, and rode back to Boston. Here he found two persons, sent by his friends in Haverhill to solicit his return. He readily accepted their invitation, and went back the next day to Haverhill, where he was received with many expressions of affection and gratitude.

The original account adds that some of his friends, in the full faith that their prayers would be answered, had actually proceeded to cut timber for a new meeting house; and, furthermore, that the first time Mr. Smith preached after his return, he took for his text the passage in Acts 10: 29, "Therefore came I without gainsaying, as soon as I was sent for. I ask, therefore, for what intent ye have sent for me?" It seems a pity to destroy so good an illustration of spiritual impressions, which has been received without question during all these years, by the readers of Baptist biography and history. There must have been grounds for so minute a statement as that which Dr. Chaplin made, and yet many of the facts, as Mr. Smith himself records them, are directly to the contrary. He did not ride on horseback, but rode with Mr. John White in his famous "chaise." He did not return the next day and meet at Boston two men, sent from Haverhill, nor did he preach, as stated, from Acts 10: 29. But he did make his visit to Rhode Island and New Jersey, as at first proposed, returning on the first of December, after an absence of nearly six weeks. The journal reads as follows:

Monday, Oct. 22. Set out for Rhode Island, being accompanied by Mr. John White in a chaise. We went through Bradford, Andover, Wilmington, Woburn, Charlestown, to Boston. Lodged at Mr. Stillman's.—Tues., 23. We went to Ames',¹ and lodged there.—Wed., 24. We went to Mr. Tillinghast's in Providence, and lodged there.—Thurs., 25. To Warren, to Mr. Manning's. Stayed two nights with him.—Sat., 27. To Newport, to Mr. Sanford's.—Sab., 28. I preached in the forenoon in Mr. Thurston's meeting house, from, "What must I do to be saved"; in the afternoon, in Mr. Upham's meeting house, from Heb. 2: 3; and in the evening, in Mr. Thurston's house again, from, "Unto them who are the called according to his purpose." I preached these sermons with much freedom and engagedness of soul. I understand the evening discourse affronted many.—Mon., 29. We went to Warren, and I preached for Mr. Manning, from Rev. 6: 2, with freedom.—Tues., 30. Heard Mr. Manning and Mr. Allen preach in Rehoboth, in Mr. Cairn's meeting house, and in the evening I preached in Pawtucket, at Mr. Sabin's, from Heb. 2: 3, with clearness, and a great degree of engagedness of soul, perhaps equal to any that I ever preached in my life. The people were very solemn. Lodged there.—Wed., 31. We went to Providence, and from thence to Warren, where we heard Mr. Gano preach an excellent discourse. After meeting I parted with Mr. White and went to Bristol, where I got a passage for New York with Capt. Young.

It is evident that Mr. Smith had not yet decided to make Haverhill his permanent home, and that the main object of the present journey was to consult with his friends. For this reason, doubtless, Mr. White, who was to be the leading man in the new Society, accompanied him, in order to see Stillman, Manning, Thurston, Upham, and Gano, in order to learn something about the organization of Baptist Churches, and to present the facts in the case to Mr. Smith's friends in as favorable a light as possible. Meanwhile the people at Haverhill were offering daily prayers for his speedy and safe return.

¹ Ames' Tavern, as it was called, in Dedham, a delightful town, ten miles from Boston.

Mr. Manning, it may be added, was at this time arranging for the formation of the Baptist Church in Warren, which perhaps accounts for the presence of his brother-in-law from New York. The church was constituted with appropriate exercises, Nov. 15, following; Messrs. Thurston and Gano preaching the sermons on that memorable occasion. The journal continues:

Between Conanicut and Narragansett I left the sloop and went to Newport. That evening I attended the good Women's meeting, and gave them an exhortation, from a hymn, after I had prayed and sung. The exhortation I hope comforted Christians. After dismissing the meeting I went and lodged with Mr. Sanford.—Sat., Nov. 3. Embarked with Capt. Collard for New York, who goes with a packet. Got to New York Sablath evening between 8 and 9 o'clock. Went directly to Mr. Gano's, where several of my friends were. They manifested great joy at my return. Tarried till Tues., 6. Monday evening I preached in Mr. Gano's meeting house, from Isa. 40: 1, with freedom.—Tues., 6. I went by water to the Point, and from thence in a Chair to Jeremiah Smith's. That evening I met the Rev. Mr. Miller, and several more of my friends, at Mr. Stites', whom I entertained with a narrative of my journey to the Eastward.—Wed., 7. Went to my father's.—Thurs., 8. Visited Obadiah Smith, Happy Cook, and Elizabeth Cook, and returned to my father's. In the evening was visited by Happy Cook and his wife, and Mr. Patriot and his wife.—Fri., 9. Went to Connecticut Farms, and that evening I preached at John Stites', Esq., from Luke 19: 3. "And he sought to see Jesus who he was." It was a comfortable evening.—Sat., 10. Went to New York.—Sab., 11. Preached three times in Mr. Gano's meeting house, two sermons from "What think ye of Christ," and one in the evening from Heb. 2: 3. These discourses I trust were blessed. I was happy in my mind in all three.—Mon., 12. Went to Middleton.—Tues., 13. Went to visit Mr. Morgan, and in the evening I preached at Capt. Geo. Taylor's, from "I am black, but comely." Not much visible effect.—Wed., 14. Went to Cheesquaker's and preached there, from Isa. 3: 10 and 11. Not much visible effect. After sermon I went to Princeton. Lodged in the College.—Thurs., 15. Went to Mr. Eaton's in Hopewell, preached in the meeting house in the evening, from Solomon's Song, 1: 5; and on the next day from, "How shall we

escape, if we neglect so great salvation?" Then left Hopewell and went to Thomas Randolph's and lodged there.—Sat., 17. Went to New York and preached on the Sabbath in Mr. Gano's pulpit.—Mon., 19. Went to Connecticut Farms and preached in the meeting house, from Rev. 6: 2. Not much apparent success. In the evening I preached at Mr. Brooks' from, "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish," with freedom.—Tues., 20. Preached at Scotch Plains from, "Set thine house in order, for thou shalt die and not live." The people were solid. Preached at the new meeting house from, "Let the inhabitants of the rock sing." Some of the people were affected. In the evening preached at Mr. Worth's, on the Neck, from, "This my son was dead and is alive again." Not much apparent success.—Wed., 21. I preached in the Morristown meeting house from, "For, behold, he cometh with clouds." Some apparent success. Then went to my father's.—Thurs., 22. Preached in Mr. Green's meeting house from, "Say ye to the righteous that it shall be well with him. . . . Woe unto the wicked! it shall be ill with him." Not much apparent success. Several spent the evening with me.—Fri., 23. Went to Morristown, and in the evening I preached at Mr. Oliver's, from John 5: 25. Not much visible effect.—Sat., 24. Preached in the Baptist meeting house, and in the evening at Deacon Gole's, from 2 Cor. 5: 17. I must leave the effect with God.—Sab., 25. Preached in the Baptist meeting house in Morristown, from Rev. 1: 5, and after sermon administered the sacrament. Then went to John Stites', Esquire, in Connecticut Farms, and preached that evening. Then went to my brother Jeremiah's.—Mon., 26. Went to New York. The tide was very high, which made it difficult in some places to get along. Several bridges were afloat and dangerous to cross. I lodged at night at Mr. Gano's.—Tues., 27. I took my passage to Newport with Captain Potter, and arrived in Newport harbor within thirty-eight hours.—Thurs., 29. Went to Warren. Preached in the evening for Mr. Manning, from Isa. 40: 1. It was a good evening. Lodged at Mr. Manning's.—Fri., 30. Went to Boston, and lodged at Mr. Herod's.—Sat., Dec. 1. Went to John White's, Merchant in Haverhill. Lodged there.—Sab., 2. Preached in the West Parish meeting house from, "All is well." Lodged that night at John White's.—Monday, 3. Gave an exhortation at Mr. Emery's. That night lodged again at John White's.—Tues., 4. Went to Deacon Ayres' and lodged there.—Wednesday, 5, and Thursday, 6. Lodged both nights at John White's with Mr. Manning.

Mr. Smith left Warren on Friday of the previous week. Manning would doubtless have accompanied him on his return, had he not felt obliged to preach to his own people on the coming Lord's Day. His church had only been constituted two weeks, and it would hardly have seemed proper for the new pastor to leave his pulpit without a supply. He accordingly tarried until Monday, when he set out for Haverhill. That was an eventful week for them both. Together they rode from parish to parish, consulted with the parties identified with the new movement, and carefully considered the condition and prospects of vital religion in the town. The result was a determination, on the part of Mr. Smith, to make "Haverhill town" his home, and the centre of his labors and influence. His friends accordingly proceeded to prepare a place of temporary worship, which he subsequently calls "the meeting house under Mr. Colby's roof." Meanwhile they made efforts to obtain the use of the meeting house of the First Parish, at such times as would not interfere with the services by the Pastor, Rev. Dr. Barnard. They made several requests to the Parish Committee to call a meeting of the Parish for this purpose. In doing this, they acted according to their convictions of right and duty, without reflecting at all upon the characters or conduct of others. They were prominent and influential citizens, and they had equal rights with the others, both to the meeting house and to its funds. These requests were disregarded. The following is the closing part of a document purporting to be an answer, by the Committee of the First Parish Religious Society, to a memorial of twenty-two petitioners, praying that Mr. Smith might be permitted to preach occasionally

in their meeting house, he being at that time destitute of one of his own:

And considering that the request is by such persons, as have of late appeared disaffected in the public concerns of the parish, and absented themselves from the instituted ordinances in said house on the Lord's Day, and that they have itching ears, following after preachers of a different sect in religion, heaping one Anabaptist preacher upon another, without offering, as we can learn, to make any objection against our teacher, either that his life is irreligious or immoral, or that his preaching or doctrines are repugnant to the gospel, and as they have followed after those Baptist preachers, and by word and practice endeavored to support their tenets, may we not well suppose it to be their intention to introduce such; which we think would be a great infringement upon the Constitution and order of the Church, by law established in the parish. And we are also of the opinion, that the door so opened, would produce very bad consequences, by the holding of evening lectures, which are oftentimes attended with a confused noise, and indecent gestures, and that the house would, as we fear, be made the theatre for enthusiasts and fanatics, to act all their wild and extravagant tricks in, for the propagating of the like in others. We therefore determine not to warn a meeting, as requested.

Signed by the Parish Committee.

HAYRHILL, Dec., 12, 1764.

One objection to the use of the Parish meeting house by Mr. Smith, it will be observed, was "that the door so opened would produce very bad consequences, by the holding of evening lectures." It is said of the celebrated Dr. Emmons, that he objected to the Sunday school, because, in the first place, his preaching and weekly catechisings were sufficient, but mainly because, in the next place, his people would want to be gadding about to evening meetings. This document is interesting, because it sheds a strong light on the character of the times. It shows furthermore that Baptists as such were everywhere spoken against. They were not factionists as here

charged upon them. The simple truth is, they had become personally attached to Mr. Smith, were delighted with his earnest manner of preaching, and were convinced of the correctness of his views upon the subject of baptism.

Failing in their efforts with the Parish Committee, the friends of Mr. Smith next applied to John Brown, a Justice of the Peace, who thereupon issued a warrant for a parish meeting, "to see if the parish will vote that any ordained or gospel minister shall or may preach in said meeting house at any time when it does not interfere with the Rev. Mr. Barnard's public exercises." The parish refused to grant such permission. The warrant declares that, "whereas Samuel White, Timothy White, James Duncan, William Greenleaf, John White, Daniel Appleton, Dudley Ladd, Benj. Mooers, with upwards of thirty others," had applied in writing, and showed that they, together with others, had previously applied to the Parish Committee to call such a meeting, but had been refused; therefore the warrant was issued.

The "meeting house under Mr. Colby's roof" is soon in readiness. The journal reads:

Sat., Dec. 30. I preached one sermon only, by reason of the cold, from Matt. 2: 12. I had much difficulty in getting to the meeting house through the snow. I suppose it took me the best part of an hour to go one mile. It was so cold that I was touched with the frost in three places. That evening I went to town, and gave an exhortation in the new meeting house.

Tues., Jan. 1, 1765. I preached from Luke 13: 8 and 9, in the new meeting house, which was prepared for me to preach in. I make no doubt but that it was blessed to some. The assembly was solemn and affected, and I was much engaged in my own mind. That evening I went to Mr. Duncan's, where several friends met and agreed to begin a private Society or meeting.

This was James Duncan, grandfather of the late Hon. James H. Duncan, LL.D. He was one of the most zealous founders of the Baptist Society, and for more than half a century one of its most liberal supporters and truest friends. He lived until 1818, attaining the venerable age of ninety-two. In early life he had been a member of the Presbyterian Church in Londonderry. His house, where "several friends," who had heretofore been prominent and influential parishioners of Rev. Mr. Barnard, met on that memorable first of January, to begin a Baptist meeting, was taken down a few years ago, to make room for "Currier's Block" on Main Street, which block now occupies its place.

Thursday, January 24. Mr. Smith writes, "That night I met with the 'Society,' and spoke to them from the 10th chapter of Hebrews." He took his leave of the West Parish February 24. The journal reads:

Sab., 24. I preached from John 17: 4, "I have glorified thee on the earth; I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do"; at the conclusion of which I took my leave of the West Parish in Haverhill. A solemn time it was. In the evening I gave an exhortation in town.—Sat., March 16. I went to John White's and lodged there till Tuesday following. Sabbath. I preached two sermons in the meeting house under Mr. Colby's roof, from Isa. 35: 3 and 4. It was a trying day to my mind, although I enjoyed my usual freedom in speaking. My trial arose chiefly from seeing some in Haverhill town, who steadily used to attend my ministry, forsake me and go elsewhere.—Mon., 18. I moved my goods to Mrs. White's, where I am to board.—Wed., 20. I went to Mrs. White's, which for the future I shall call my home.

Mr. Smith now devoted himself with zeal and energy to the prosecution of his work in connection with the new religious enterprise. His first baptism in Haverhill is thus recorded:

Sat., April 13. I preached a sermon in Haverhill from, "Search the Scriptures," and after sermon I baptized eight persons in the Merrimack River before Mr. Greenleaf's door. Their names are Jacob Whittier, Miss Hazen, Samuel Ayres' wife, Perley's wife, Betsey Haynes, Polly Bailey, Rachel Clemens, and Ruth Morrill. It was a very solemn time, and although there was a great number at the water side present, they behaved exceeding well. After the candidates were baptized they were exceeding lively.

This was Mr. William Greenleaf, in whose house the church was subsequently organized. The house, which was afterwards occupied as a tavern by his son, Captain Greenleaf, stood on the north side of Merrimack Street, a short distance from the corner, on the lot now, or recently, occupied by Chase's Block. At that time there were no buildings on the opposite side of the street, and it was five and twenty years afterwards before a bridge over the Merrimack was seriously thought of. "Before Mr. Greenleaf's door," therefore, where now stands the Essex Block, was the open bank and margin of the river—an admirable font, says Dr. Train, for the ordinance of baptism.

On the following Thursday, April 18, he baptized again. "I preached," he writes, "a sermon, from Isa. 58: 6, in Haverhill out doors, there being more people than could get into the house. It was a Fast Day, and after the sermon I baptized eight persons, viz.: Capt. Bodwell, Mr. Morrill, Mr. Green, Mrs. Morrill, Mrs. Green, Mrs. Gile, Mrs. Follonsbee, Miss Morrill. I suppose there might have been the best part of two thousand people to see the ordinance performed." And this, adds Dr. Train, on a week day, when the whole population of the township was nineteen hundred and twenty.

The next week, on Friday, four persons more received the ordinance of baptism. He writes:

I preached in Haverhill, from 1 Cor. 13: 13, and after service I baptized Mr. Powell, Miss Hannah Walker, Miss Marian Emerson, and Miss Lucy Morrill. I examined after that Mr. Harriman for baptism, visited at Mr. Moore's, supped at Mr. Greenleaf's, and then went home. But never, as I remember, since I came into these parts, have I had my mind more sorely exercised on account of reproaches than this week past. Christians from one quarter and another oppose so much that I am wearied of it. But what came from Mr. Little of Newbury, by John White, hurt me the most of them all—By threatening that none of their ministers would come near us, and I ought not to have baptized yet, and my actions seem to confirm what has been reported, that I came out with a design to make a party, and that, although before they determined to have me among them, now they could not desire to see me at Newbury, and several other things to that effect, as well as to advise all to leave me and go to hear Mr. Parsons on the Sabbath.

In following the example and teaching of his Divine Lord in the ordinance of baptism, Mr. Smith could not certainly have violated any principle of common etiquette or propriety, even though he was at variance with the universal practice of the Congregational Churches around him. What wonder then that his sensitive spirit was wounded to the quick, by this to him unexpected treatment on the part of those by whom he had been so hospitably entertained, and with whom he had labored so pleasantly and earnestly for the advancement of the Redeemer's cause. From this time the opposition of all connected with the established churches, not only the opponents of Whitefield and revivals, but also the "New Lights" as well, seems to have been vigorous and decided.

Lord's Day, May 5, he writes: "I preached in the forenoon from Matt. 20: 6, 'Why stand ye here all the day idle,' and in the afternoon from, 'Mene, Mene, Tekel Upharsin.' It was a good day. After service I baptized Mr. Harriman, Mrs. Whittier, Mrs. Dow, and Mrs.

Emory." The following Wednesday the Church was constituted. The first entry in the records of the Church is as follows:

The 9th of May, 1765. We whose names are first affixed to the Covenant which is here inserted, after solemn fasting and prayer, mutually agreed to walk in gospel order together, having before been baptized by immersion, but not joined to any church. And that we might better understand each other's religious sentiments, we thought proper to covenant in the following manner:

"We, the underwritten, concluding it expedient to unite as Christian brethren in a particular Anti-pedobaptist Church in this place, do jointly, as such, profess to be built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone. This we profess in the presence of God, angels and men. And we do mutually declare and acknowledge the Old and New Testaments, called the Holy Scriptures, to be the rule of our faith and practice, and their doctrines, as follows, by us to be maintained:

The doctrines of the Church are then briefly stated in eleven particulars:

1. The doctrine of the Trinity.
2. Salvation the conjoint work of the Trinity.
3. There is but one Mediator.
4. Election.
5. The fall of the human race in Adam.
6. The necessity of supernatural grace.
7. Baptism and admission to the Lord's Supper upon a satisfactory profession to the Church of having been regenerated by the Holy Ghost.
8. The authority of Civil government.
9. Promise of fidelity in duties to God, to each other, and to the Church.
10. Who are meet subjects for membership in the Church.
11. The imposition or non-imposition of hands after baptism is not essential to church communicating.

These early records are in the handwriting of Mr.

Smith. The organization of the church was completed by the choice of Jacob Whittier, of Methuen, and Jonathan Shepard, of Haverhill, as Deacons, and the choice of Jacob Whittier as Treasurer. On the following Monday, May 13, Mr. Smith and William Greenleaf set out for Boston, Warren, and Middleborough, to obtain certificates from the Baptist Churches in those places. The record is interesting:

I set out with William Greenleaf, for Boston. Lodged at the Rev. Stillman's that night.—Tues., 14. We went to Middleborough, and from thence set out for Warren. Lodged that night in a tavern about thirteen miles from Warren.—Wed., 15. We went to the Rev. Manning's in Warren, and that evening obtained from the Church¹ a certificate to the Haverhill Church. The Rev. Mr. Thurston, whom we saw at Mr. Manning's, with two of his church, gave a certificate likewise.—Thurs., 16. We went from Warren to the Rev. Backus, in Middleborough, and I preached a sermon in his meeting house from, "Even so, . . . Amen." Several were much affected. We got a certificate from that church to the Haverhill Church, and then we went off to Boston. Lodged that night at Mr. Harrod's.—Fri., 17. We got certificates from the Rev. Messrs. Stillman's and Bond's churches to acknowledge Haverhill Church to be one of the baptized congregations, etc. The law of the Province requires the approbation of three ministers and their churches to a church before they can be clear of ministerial taxes to the other denominations.

And here it may be well, in order that the reader may have a clearer understanding of Mr. Smith's position in relation to the established churches, to give in brief the laws that were in force at this time in reference to exemption from taxation, together with previous legis-

¹ The records of the church state that "a special meeting was called, occasioned by the application of the Rev. Mr. Smith, from a church newly constituted at Haverhill, who, being threatened with oppression by the established Congregationalists, were under necessity of having certificates of their being in fellowship with orderly churches."

lation on the subject. For this the splendid work,¹ recently published under the auspices of the Massachusetts Government, and edited by the learned and scholarly Hon. Elis Ames, a graduate of Brown University, affords ample material.

The first enactment of the General Court of the Province of Massachusetts, exempting both Baptists and Quakers from the payment of ministerial taxes or rates, dates back as far as the year 1728. The preamble and first section of this act read as follows:

Whereas some of the inhabitants of this Province, called Anabaptists, and others called Quakers, refuse to pay any part or proportion of such taxes as are from time to time assessed, for the support of the ministry in the several towns whereto they belong, alleging a scruple of conscience for such their refusal; and thereupon frequent application has been made to this Court for their relief,—

Be it therefore enacted by the Lieutenant Governor, Council, and Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same,

Sec. 1. That from and after the publication of this Act, none of the persons commonly called Anabaptists, nor any of those commonly called Quakers, that are or shall be enrolled or entered in their respective Societies as members thereof, and who allege a scruple of conscience as the reason of their refusal to pay any part or proportion of such taxes as are from time to time assessed for the support of the minister or ministers of the churches established by the laws of this Province in the town or place where they dwell, shall have their polls taxed towards the support of such minister or ministers; nor shall their bulks be at any time taken in execution to satisfy any such ministerial rate or tax assessed upon their estates or faculty; provided that such persons do usually attend the meetings of their respective

¹ The Acts and Resolves, public and private, of the Province of Massachusetts Bay; to which are prefixed the Charters of the Province, with historical and explanatory notes, and an appendix. Published under Chapter 87 of the Resolves of the General Court of the Commonwealth for the year 1867. Vols. I-IV (1692-1764). Royal 8vo. Boston, 1863-61.

ELIAS AMES,
ARNER C. GOODALL,
Commissioners.

Societies assembling upon the Lord's Day for the worship of God, and that they live within five miles of the place of such meeting.

This act was to continue five years from the time of publication, or until June 24, 1734. The following month, July 4, another act was passed, which reads as follows:

Whereas some inhabitants of this Province, called Anabaptists, refuse to pay any part or proportion of such rates or taxes as are, from time to time, assessed for the support of the ministry in the several towns whereto they belong, alleging a scruple of conscience for such their refusal,—

Be it therefore enacted by His Excellency the Governor, Council, and Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same,

Sec. 1. That from and after the publication of this Act, none of the persons commonly called Anabaptists, who allege a scruple of conscience as the reason of their refusal to pay any part or proportion of such taxes as are from time to time assessed for the support of the minister or ministers of the churches established, by the laws of this Province, in the town or place where they dwell, shall have their poll, or estate, real or personal, in their own hands, and under their actual improvement, taxed towards the support of such minister or ministers, or for the building of any meeting house or place of public worship.

And to the intent that it may be the better known what persons are of that persuasion, and who are exempted by this act,—

Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid,

Sec. 2. That the assessors of each town, where any of the said Anabaptists live, or their lands in their own actual improvement lie, shall, on or before the 20th of July next, and from thence annually, some time before the 20th of April, take a list of all such persons, and forthwith transmit the same to the Clerk of the town, which list shall be entered on the record of such town by the Clerk, who is hereby empowered and directed to enter the same accordingly, that so any of the people called Anabaptists, or any members of their Society thereto appointed may view such list, and have a copy thereof, if they desire the same, paying only sixpence therefor; and if any person of that denomination, shall be omitted in such list by the assessors taken, and the assessors shall be certified thereof in writing, under the hands of two principal members of that persuasion, appointed thereto by the

respective Societies some time before the 10th of September next, and from thence, some time before the 10th of May then next after, that such persons not inserted in their list, they believe to be conscientiously of their persuasion, and that they do frequently and usually attend their meetings for the worship of God, on the Lord's Day, the assessors shall also exempt the said persons so omitted, and their estates in their actual management and improvement, as well as all others inserted in the said lists, from all rates and taxes by the said assessors to be made for the support of the minister or ministers in their towns, or for erecting places of public worship.

This act expired July 6, 1739, when it was re-enacted, to remain in force seven years. It was revived in 1747, and continued to remain in full force ten years, or until July 2, 1757. In 1753, says Backus, the Legislature "broke in upon their own law, and enacted that the minister, with two principal members of the Baptist Church, should sign their certificates for the future, and also that no minister or church should have any power to give lawful certificates, until they should have obtained from three other churches, commonly called Anabaptists, in this or the neighboring provinces, a certificate from each respectively, that they esteem such church to be of their own denomination, and that they conscientiously believe them to be Anabaptists."

As those, adds Backus, who had lately become Baptists, were not in full fellowship with the old Baptist churches, this act was passed to prevent their being exempted from taxes. It also required them to certify a conscientious belief of a point which they never did believe, viz., that they were Anabaptists (Rebaptizers) a name of reproach cast upon them by their persecutors. This additional act was to continue in force for five years, or until January 6, 1758. It reads as follows:

An Act in addition to an Act passed the thirteenth year of his

present Majesty's reign, entitled "An Act further to exempt persons commonly called Anabaptists within this Province from being taxed for and towards the support of ministers."

WHEREAS, Notwithstanding the provision already made by an Act made and passed in the thirteenth year of his present Majesty's reign, entitled "An Act further to exempt persons commonly called Anabaptists within this Province from being taxed for and towards the support of ministers," in order to ascertain and make known what persons are of that persuasion which denominates them Anabaptists, and who shall enjoy the privileges, and be esteemed as entitled to the Exemption from taxes, etc., in said Act mentioned, many doubts have already arisen thereon, and, in many cases, the said exemption has been extended to many persons to whom the same was never designed to extend; for preventing whereof for the future, and in order to ascertain more effectually what persons shall be esteemed and accounted as Anabaptists, and to whom the said exemptions shall be hereafter extended,—

Be it enacted by the Lieutenant Governor, Council, and House of Representatives,

Sec. 1. That no person for the future shall be so esteemed to be an Anabaptist as to have his poll or polls and estate exempted from paying a proportionable part of the taxes that shall be raised in the town or place where he or they belong, but such whose names shall be contained in the lists taken by the assessors, as in said Act provided, or such as shall produce a certificate, under the hands of the minister and of two principal members of such church, setting forth that they conscientiously believe such person or persons to be of their persuasion, and that he or they usually and frequently attend the public worship in such church on Lord's Days.

And be it further enacted,

Sec. 2. That no minister, nor the members of any Anabaptist Church as aforesaid, shall be esteemed qualified to give such certificate as aforesaid other than such as shall have obtained from three other churches commonly called Anabaptists, in this or the neighboring provinces, a certificate from each respectively, that they esteem such church to be one of their denomination, and that they conscientiously believe them to be Anabaptists; the several certificates aforesaid to be lodged with the town clerk, where the Anabaptist, desiring such exemption, dwells, some time betwixt the raising or granting of the tax and the assessment of the same on the inhabitants.

This Act of 1753 was especially obnoxious to the Baptists, who called various meetings in Boston, Medfield, Bellingham, and other places, to discuss the matter and devise ways of relief. As the result, Mr. John Proctor,¹ of Boston, was elected their agent to carry their case to England, and above a hundred pounds was subscribed to meet the expense. Mr. Proctor drew up a Remonstrance, which was presented to the Assembly at Boston, in May, 1754. It stated matters so plainly, that a motion was made by some, says Backus, to take the signers of it into custody. Were it not for its length we should be glad to copy this Remonstrance² in full. It is a remarkable paper, and, aside from its merit, possesses great historic value. It begins as follows:

To His Excellency William Shirley, Esquire, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, and to the Honorable, His Majesty's Council, and the House of Representatives in General Court assembled at Boston, the 29th day of May, Anno Domini 1754.

The Memorial and Remonstrance of Thomas Green, Thomas Roucher, Ebenezer Moulton, Ephraim Bowworth, Joseph Collins, Philip Freeman, Joseph Gould, Thomas Cheney, and John Proctor, a

¹Mr. Proctor was one of the seven original members of the Second Baptist Church of Boston, afterwards known as the Baldwin Place Church. He was a native of Boston, and a public school teacher. His school-house, says Dr. Stow, stood near the junction of Tremont and Court Streets. Here for several months the little Church held public worship, until March 15, 1746, when the members met for the first time in their new meeting house. The best pew, continues Stow, estimated at eighty-five pounds, old tenor, was owned by Proctor, who seems to have been the chief man of the new Society, not even excepting the Pastor or Deacon Bowworth. He was for many years Clerk of the Church, the records of which he kept in a remarkably clear and bold style of penmanship. His "Remonstrance" is given in the Appendix to Stow's "Centennial Address," published in 1843.

²This Remonstrance and Petition Mr. Ames has published in full, in the third volume of "Acts and Resolves," where it occupies six large pages of small type. A copy of it was preserved by Mr. Backus; it is now among his papers in the archives of the Backus Historical Society.

Committee appointed in behalf of several Societies of people called Baptists, inhabitants within the said Province, humbly set forth.

After a suitable introduction, the Remonstrance goes on to affirm, that under the Charter of William and Mary, "they of the Baptist persuasion have as good, ample, and extensive a right to think and act for themselves in matters of a religious nature, as any, or all and every of the other respective Dissenting Churches or Societies within this His Majesty's Province or Territory whomsoever, be they Congregationalists, Independents, Presbyterians, or however otherwise denominated." It then proceeds to narrate their persecutions from 1692 until 1728, giving details, and in some instances names, showing how Baptists had had their bodies seized upon by officers of the law and thrown into the common jail; their cattle, horses, swine, and household furniture forcibly distrained from them and sold at auction for one quarter of the value, because of a refusal to pay ministerial rates or taxes. The several enactments of the Legislature since 1728, exempting "Anabaptists" from taxation, are then discussed, and especially the enactment of 1753, the injustice and inconsistency of which are shown in the clearest light. The memorialists add:

And whereas there seems to be a great probability, from the continued ill treatment which our ancestors, and we of the Baptist persuasion now surviving have undergone in this Province, and the same ill spirit being at this day in many towns too prominent, that our just complaints thereupon (unless fully redressed here) must of course be sent home; for these reasons, therefore, we humbly pray your Excellency and this Honorable Court, that your memorialists may not be looked upon in a culpable light, when we complain and remonstrate with all just freedom and openness of mind becoming free men, good Protestants and loyal subjects of His Majesty, against the said act

passed by the said Lieut. Governor, Council, and House of Representatives, as being contrary to the liberty of conscience to us granted by the Royal Charter as aforesaid, and repugnant to the laws of England.

The Memorial closes with a petition, that said act may be repealed, and that a new law may be enacted, totally and forever exempting Baptists from paying any ministerial rates, taxes, or assessments whatever. Its fate, like the fate of most other petitions of the kind, is briefly expressed in the following action of the Court: "In Council, June 5, 1754. Read, and forasmuch as the petition contains several indecent reflections on the laws and Legislature of this Province, therefore ordered that it be dismissed. Sent down for concurrence. Thomas Clarke, Deputy Secretary."

At length, says Backus, all the laws exempting Quakers and Baptists from paying taxes for the support of ministers expired, and, in 1758, a new law was made wherein both denominations, as heretofore, were included in one act. This law was to be in force three years, or until January 26, 1761. Upon the expiration of this act it was renewed, to be in force ten years, or until February 1, 1771. The third Section, which relates exclusively to the Baptists, reads as follows:

Be it further enacted,

That no person in any town, district, precinct, or parish as aforesaid, shall be so esteemed or accounted to be an Anabaptist, or to have his or her poll or polls, or any estate to him or her belonging, exempted from paying a proportionable part of the ministerial taxes that shall be raised therein, but such whose names shall be contained in a list or lists to be taken and exhibited on or before the 1st day of February next, and afterwards, during the continuance of this act, on or before the 20th day of July, annually, to the assessor of such town, district, precinct, or parish, and signed by three principal members of the Anabaptist Church to which he or they belong, and the minister

thereof, if any there be, who shall therein certify that the persons whose names are inserted in said list or lists are really belonging thereto, and that they verily believe them to be conscientiously of their persuasion, and that they do frequently and usually attend the public worship in such church on the Lord's Day.

The iniquitous working of these exemption laws, as they were called, and especially the last one, led the Baptists eventually, under the guidance of such leaders as Smith and Manning, Stillman and Backus, to unite as an Association, in order the more effectually to resist acts of persecution and distress on the part of the "Standing Order." A case of flagrant injustice was at hand in Mr. Smith's own Society. The Congregational Church of the First Parish in Haverhill had for several years contemplated the building of a new meeting house, and had discussed ways and plans. The organization of the Baptist Society quickened their zeal, and in the spring of 1765, they called a meeting of the Parish, and appropriated for this purpose three hundred pounds. This at the time was considered a large sum of money, taking into account existing relative values. To pay this amount, as also Dr. Barnard's salary, the Baptists in town were taxed with the other inhabitants. Hence Mr. Smith's haste to obtain certificates from the other churches, in order to hand to the Parish Assessors a list of their members, for exemption according to law. On May 23, the following paper, among others, was handed to the assessors :

This may inform you, that we who have formed ourselves into a Baptist Church, according to the laws of this government respecting Baptists, called by some Anabaptists, do hereby certify, that we verily believe that Major Edmund Mooers and Mr. John White, Merchant, are conscientiously of our persuasion, and that they do frequently and usually attend public worship with us on the Lord's Days.

This was signed by Mr. Smith, as Pastor, and three of his principal members, including Deacon Whittier. Mr. White, who was regarded as the wealthiest gentleman in town,¹ and who was known to be a warm personal friend of the Baptist minister, and a zealous and efficient leader in the new Society, refused to submit to the unjust demands of the Parish, and would not pay his tax. Accordingly, on September 15, 1766, the assessors seized a large quantity of his goods. For this he sued them at their County Court in December; but the action was continued till March, and then was carried up to their Superior Court, by way of demur. It was to have been tried at Ipswich, in June, 1767; but it was put off, because, as Backus states, two Baptist gentlemen (Major Mooers and John White), were not allowed to be witnesses of plain facts concerning the seizure of said goods. The next term was at Salem, in November; when, after a full and fair hearing, the jury decided in favor of Mr. White, awarding him thirty pounds damages and costs. Notwithstanding this, the lawyers prevailed to have the whole matter referred to a future Court, the case being a representative

¹ Mr. White's house, which he built in 1766, was a large three-story mansion, and one of the most imposing and costly dwellings in the region. Its massive front door, with the portico and pillars, have been removed. Its deep and terraced front yard, with varied shrubbery and flowers; its ample stone steps, and high fence of fanciful trellis work; and its tall poplar trees,—have all disappeared. The street now passes close to the house, which has been extensively remodelled, so that it retains but little of its ancient aristocratic and wealthy appearance. The large garden in the rear of the mansion, with its regular squares, fringed with boxwood—its neatly gravelled walks—its terraces, and rare varieties of imported fruit trees—is now despoiled of its beauty, and nearly covered with stables. Mr. White was not only a prominent business man, but a highly respected, wealthy, and influential citizen. He was largely engaged in commerce, and imported and exported large amounts of merchandise. When Washington passed through Haverhill, he called upon Mr. White, whose daughter-in-law, Mrs. Leonard White, had been a frequent visitor, sometimes for weeks together, of Mrs. Washington, and exchanged healths with the merchant in a glass of wine. Chase's "History of Haverhill."

one, and of great importance. Finally, in June, 1769, another trial was brought on, and the case was turned against Mr. White and the Baptists, on a pretended ambiguous clause in the Exemption law. It might mean a baptized member of the Church, or a constant worshiper, or both, the latter being the evident intent. On this merest quibble, Mr. White, who was not a member of the Church, although a devout man, and an active member of the Society, was defeated. The affair cost him in all upwards of eighty pounds, or nearly one-third the sum originally appropriated by the parish for the new Congregational meeting house.

Meanwhile the religious interest in the new Society continued to increase, so that the "meeting house under Mr. Colby's roof" proved altogether inadequate to the necessities of the congregation. Sabbath, June 2. Mr. Smith writes: "In the afternoon I was obliged, as I had been a number of Sabbaths before, to preach out of the house, there being such a crowd of people that they could not get in." Having failed in their efforts to obtain the use of the "First Parish meeting house," they were forced to erect a house of worship for themselves. The subscription paper for this purpose, dated February 4, 1765, begins as follows: "Whereas it is proposed by a number of well-affected people, in the town of Haverhill and other towns, to build a convenient Baptist meeting house for the public worship of God, for the people to meet in under their present difficult circumstances," etc. Then follows the subscription.¹ Having secured the requisite amount of funds, they began with zeal and energy

¹ John White, Jr., headed a list of fifty-two names, and Abagail Hason closed it. Eleven hundred and thirty-five dollars were pledged—a large sum of money for those early days.

to build. The journal reads: "Wed., June 5. I went home, though I did not study much, because the people began to raise that day the meeting house which was designed for me to preach in—and a very rainy day it was, though the rain did not prevent their proceeding to raise. No man got hurt, only Mr. Whiting had his head a little hurt by one of the pike poles falling on him." The raising was finished "before night" on Thursday, and on the following Lord's Day the people assembled under the FRAME for worship. President Manning was, of course, present on so important an occasion. Friday, June 7, Mr. Smith writes:

I studied some, and in the afternoon went over to Andover, to meet Rev. Mr. Manning (and Mrs. Manning), whom I accompanied to Haverhill.—Sabb. 9. I preached in the forenoon from Isa. 52: 7, 8, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good; that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth. Thy watchmen shall lift up the voice; with the voice together shall they sing: for they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion." I felt comfortable in my own soul, and trust some of my hearers did too. In the afternoon I heard Mr. Manning preach. A solemn time it was.

The Rev. Dr. Train in his Centennial Discourse, to which I have made such frequent allusion, thus indulges in a pleasing retrospect:

Go back with me in imagination, if you can, to that bright Sabbath morning when Mr. Smith and his friend, President Manning, preached for the first time in the FRAME of the meeting house upon this spot. They did not wait until the meeting house was finished before they used it, and it was never dedicated. Puritans in those days rarely dedicated meeting houses. The Old South, in Boston, was never dedicated. To the mind of a Puritan, the dedication of a meeting house savored too strongly of the Episcopal idea of the con-

secession of a church. Place yourself just outside the FRAME of that new house, on the brow of this steep ascent, then fifteen feet higher than it is to-day, and note the worshippers as they approach. See Manning, young¹ and handsome, with his full-bottomed wig and gown and bands; Smith, tall, graceful, dignified and prepossessing. See the solid men, Samuel White, Esquire, James Duncan, and the three John Whites—Captain John, Merchant John, and Master John; See Peter Carleton, and Simon Ayers, and William Greenleaf, and others, with their knee-breeches, cocked-hats, wigs, or clubbed hair, or pig-tails. See "the honorable women not a few," in costumes equally grotesque to our modern taste. Some are walking in family processions; for then a family went to the house of God in company. Some are on horseback from the farms. Here is a fair woman, the beautiful wife of Peter Carleton, for instance, behind her husband on a pillion, and there is a blooming daughter behind her father or her brother. No one is in a carriage, unless it be a lumbering Calash; for Merchant John White has the only chaise in town, and that chaise is not used upon the Sabbath.

The house now erected was a structure in accordance with the most approved style of ecclesiastical architecture in that section of New England, and it remained without alteration for nearly forty years. It was set parallel to Merrimack Street, standing nearly east and west. It was sixty feet in length, forty-two in breadth, two stories in height, with galleries, square pews, a sounding board, and seats for the deacons and elders. The seats in the pews extended round three sides of the square, and were hung upon hinges. In 1799, a tower and spire were erected on the east end of the building, and a fine-toned bell, presented by Samuel White, Esq., for the first time summoned the people to worship. Having lasted nearly

¹ President Manning was a little more than a year younger than Smith, having been born October 22, 1738. "In his youth," says Judge Howell, "he was remarkable for the symmetry of his body, and the gracefulness of his person." In his later years he was inclined to corpulency, so that his weight was nearly three hundred. "His motions and gestures were so easy and graceful," says Hunter, "that ordinary observers thought not of his immense volume of flesh."

three quarters of a century, it was, in 1883, taken down, and a new house was erected in its place.¹

The increasing prosperity of the new Church and Society, served to intensify, if possible, the opposition of the "Standing Order." On every hand Mr. Smith heard himself and his associates denounced in uncharitable and bitter terms. Thursday, June 13, he writes:

I went to the Fast kept at Bradford, and heard Mr. Flagg and Mr. Tucker preach. And in my opinion, souls are to be pitied who sit under their preaching. Then went home, and expected to have more stones thrown into my chamber that night, after the ministers had been reflecting so much upon myself and the people who separated from them. The night before they threw one stone through the glass into my chamber, soon after I got to bed.

This stone, which was large enough to have caused fatal results, he carefully preserved, as a memorial of God's goodness to him, in mercifully sparing his life, under circumstances of danger and trial. It is still, I am informed, in the possession of one of his descendants. In addition to the indignity here mentioned, all manner of evil reports were circulated concerning him;² a beetle

¹ The original structure lasted sixty-eight years. In 1833, during the ministry of Rev. Dr. S. P. Hill, a second house of worship was built. Its dimensions were 70x12. It was dedicated November 7, 1833. A third house of worship was built and dedicated in 1849, during the ministry of the late Rev. Dr. Arthur S. Train. The interior dimensions of the auditorium were 84x19. The fourth and last house was built during the ministry of their present active and efficient pastor, the Rev. Henry C. Graves. It was dedicated November 22, 1883. It is one of the largest and finest church edifices of its kind in the State, costing upwards of seventy-six thousand dollars. The auditorium seats twelve hundred, and the chapels seven hundred. The first three houses were built on the original lot, on Merrimack Street. In 1883, the Society sold the old lot and house, and bought a fine, large lot, covering 14,000 square feet, on Main Street, near Arlington, this being a more central and convenient location for the worshippers.

² Among the Smith papers is the following, the object of which is very evident:

"This may certify to all whom it may concern, that the bearer hereof, the Rev. Mr. Hzekiah Smith, has lived in the same house with us near eighteen months, and that he has through the whole time, behaved agreeably to the sacred character

was cast at him one evening as he was walking the streets; his horse's mane and tail were cut off in the night; and a paper was affixed to the door of his boarding place, threatening worse treatment if he did not depart out of town. But, in the language of one who suffered far greater indignities and persecutions, "none of these things moved him."

In the days of Stillman, Manning, and Smith, the order of public worship was quite unlike that to which we are now accustomed. The public reading of the Scriptures was not generally practiced. In the records of the Old South Church, in Boston, under date of April 24th, 1737, it is stated, that "the brethren stayed and voted, that the Holy Scriptures be read in church, and that it be left to the discretion of the pastor what to read and what to expound." Mr. Smith commenced the reading of the Scriptures in his church, and for many years he gave an exposition, as the sermon of the morning. June 23, he writes: "In the forenoon expounded from the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, which I propose to expound in course."

On the 10th of July, Mr. Smith attended an ordination. His journal reads: "Went to Newburg, to Mr. Ward's ordination. Mr. Cleaveland and Mr. Leslie ordained him in the aisle of Mr. Parsons' meeting house. I was not invited to dine with the ministers, neither did I speak with one of them." Yet this, adds Dr. Train, was Mr. Cleaveland, who had given him such a cordial welcome at Chebacco, and for whom he had preached week after week with such evident tokens of the

which he sustains. In witness hereof we set our names, this 30th day of August, 1766.

BERNARD WHITE,
MARY WHITE.

divine favor; and this was Mr. Parsons' meeting house in which he had preached, less than a twelve-month before, to an audience, as it was supposed, of about four thousand people. Such a slight from those with whom he had so recently been intimate, must have touched his gentle and sensitive nature to the quick. In those times a New England ordination was truly a festive occasion, when the ministers from far and near were accustomed to assemble around the hospitable board.

Tuesday, Aug. 13, the Society proposed terms of settlement to Mr. Smith. His journal reads:

In my study in the forenoon, and in the afternoon, Major Mober, Capt. Holwell, Benjamin Wheeler, John Green, and Samuel Harriman waited upon me at my lodgings, to see if they could, in behalf of the Baptist Society, agree with me to settle with them in Haverhill. They proposed to me to give me one hundred pounds lawful money, per year, which I have under consideration.

This was the sum paid to Dr. Barnard, and was regarded as a liberal salary.¹ Dwelling houses in Haverhill at that time were only valued at five pounds each, servants for life two pounds, horses at four shillings and nine pence, oxen at four shillings, and cows at three shillings and six pence.² Why Mr. Smith should have delayed a year and three months, as he did, before accepting the proposition, can only be explained on the ground of discouragement, in view of the opposition

¹ Prof. Parsons, son of the late Chief Justice Parsons, says of his grandfather, Rev. Moses Parsons, Pastor of the church in Byfield, where Mr. Smith preached with such acceptance before settling in Haverhill: "As an instance how times are changed, I may say that, on a salary of one hundred pounds lawful money, and a good farm attached to the premises, he educated three sons in Harvard College, without any assistance, and always lived liberally and easily, and entertained a first deal of company."—Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*.

² Valuation of the town, taken in 1767. See Chase's *History of Haverhill*, page 428.

which he encountered, from time to time, from those whom he had at first regarded as his helpers and friends.

Tuesday, August 22, he had a visit from his early pastor, Rev. John Gano, who remained with him one week, preaching in the new meeting house and also in Hampstead and in Newtown.¹ During this visit, Lord's Day 25, Mr. Smith baptized his friend, Captain William Greenleaf. Monday, September 2, accompanied by Captain John White,² he set out on a journey to Providence, New York, the Jerseys, and Philadelphia. They were absent from home two months. Monday night, he writes:

We lodged at Col. Mann's in Wrentham.—Tuesday we went to Newport and stayed at Col. Bennet's till Saturday.—Wednesday and Thursday I was with the Corporation, which sat upon the College business, and on Thursday I was elected one of the Fellows. Mr. Manning was chosen President the same day. We, although but a part of the Corporation, subscribed for the building and the endowing of the College, nineteen hundred and ninety-two dollars.

This was a memorable meeting to which the journal refers, it being the second annual meeting of the Trustees and Fellows of the infant College. Only two years before, the youthful President, fresh from the halls of learning, had visited Newport for the first time, on the special business with which he had been entrusted by representatives of the Philadelphia Association. He was accompanied by his friend and fellow townsman, the Rev. John

¹ Hampstead is a town in Rockingham County, New Hampshire. The Pastor of the Congregational Church here, the Rev. Henry True, to whom we have already referred as being friendly to Mr. Smith, was ordained, June 3, 1752. Newtown is a town also in Rockingham County, forty miles from Concord. Here was the oldest Baptist Church in the State. The pastor at this time was the Rev. Walter Powers.

² There were three John Whites in Haverhill, who were connected with the Baptist Society, as Dr. Train, in his Centennial Discourse, stated,—Merchant White, whose name is so conspicuous in connection with the assessments made for ministerial rates; Master White, who "lined off the psalms in the rotatable way"; and Capt. White who accompanied Mr. Smith on his present journey.

Sutton. They together called on Colonel John Gardner,¹ a man venerable in years, and prominent in society, being Deputy Governor of the Colony, and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. To him Manning unfolded his plans. He heard them with attention, and at once appointed a meeting of the leading Baptists in town at his own house. Again the plans were presented and discussed, and at an adjourned meeting a rough draft of a Constitution for the College was read, and Hon. Josias Lyndon and Colonel Job Bennet were appointed a committee to petition the General Assembly for a Charter of incorporation. The general understanding in the outset was, that the institution was to be a Baptist one, but that so many of other denominations were to be invited to share in its government as would be consistent with this design. I need not dwell here upon the unexpected delays and opposition encountered in the further progress of this affair. They are given in full, as I have already stated, in my "Life of Manning, and History of Brown University." A Charter was finally granted by an overwhelming vote of the Legislature at an adjourned session, held in East Greenwich, in February, 1764. In April following, Manning, in accordance with previous arrangements, had removed to Warren and commenced his ministrations in that delightful town as a preacher of the gospel. A

¹ He was admitted a freeman of Newport in 1722. From 1732 to 1737 he was an Assistant, and served on important committees. He had the rank of Colonel, and in 1744 he was appointed Commissary-General. In 1743, he was elected General Treasurer, which office he held until 1748, when he was again chosen Assistant. In 1754, he was Deputy Governor, and again in 1756, holding this office during the remainder of his life. In 1757 he was made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature. He died in January, 1764, in the 70th year of his age. These facts relating to a prominent Baptist are interesting, because at his house were held the preliminary meetings which resulted in the establishment of Rhode Island College, now Brown University.

flourishing Church had been organized, over which he had been installed as pastor, and a meeting house and parsonage had been erected. He had also established a Latin, or preparatory school, and he was now ready to begin College instruction. But he had neither pupils nor buildings. At this meeting, according to the records, he was formally appointed "President of the College, Professor of Languages, and other branches of learning, with full power to act in these capacities at Warren, or elsewhere." According to Smith's journal the sum of nearly two thousand dollars was subscribed for the building and the endowing of the College. Whatever else may have been lacking in the days of Maunings and Smith, there was evidently no lack of faith on the part of those who constituted the Corporation.

It is interesting in this connection to observe the character of the men who, more than a century ago, thus met for the second time, as a corporate body, to transact business for the College. Of the four religious denominations recognized in the Charter, the Congregationalists alone were unrepresented. The Episcopalians were represented by Governor Joseph Wanton and Hon. James Honeyman, both residents of Newport, and gentlemen of culture, wealth, and high social position. The former was first elected Governor in the year 1769. He continued to fill the office from year to year, with great acceptance, until 1775, when he was suspended by the General Assembly for disloyalty. Mr. Honeyman was the son of the Rev. James Honeyman, Rector of Trinity Church, Newport. He was an able lawyer and a prominent politician, filling many high offices in the State. For many years he was Advocate General of the Court of Vice Admiralty for the Colony, having been appointed

to this office by the British Government. The Quakers, or Friends, were represented by Hon. Stephen Hopkins, Nicholas Easton, John G. Wanton, and Edward Thurston, Jr. No name is more prominent in the history of this period than that of Hopkins, and few men of any period have exerted so wide an influence upon the destinies of the country. For nearly forty-five years, as Chief Justice, Governor, Member of Congress, Legislator, or Representative, he was engaged in some kind of official duty connected with the town, the State, or the National Congress. His name appears among the signers of the Declaration of Independence. The office of Chancellor of the College, to which he was elected at the first meeting, in 1764, he held until his death, in 1785, a period of twenty-one years. He was a warm personal friend of President Manning, and, by his extensive learning and genuine love of literature, he proved a most efficient co-adjutor in all the plans and efforts of the latter for the efficiency and usefulness of the College. Mr. Wanton was an opulent merchant of Newport, and related by blood and marriage to the wealthiest and most popular families in the Colony. The name of Nicholas Easton appears in Arnold's History of Rhode Island, as a member of the General Assembly from Middletown, in the year 1776. He was a physician, and a descendant probably of Governors Nicholas and John Easton. Of Thurston, I have been unable to ascertain anything definite. He was a trustee, as appears from the triennial catalogue, until the year 1782.

The remaining twenty members of the Corporation who were present at this meeting were Baptists. They were from the towns of Providence, Newport, Warren, and Westerly, in the State; and from Boston, Haverhill,

New York, and Philadelphia. Among them we notice the Hon. Samuel Ward, the popular Governor of Rhode Island during the years 1762, 1765, and 1766, a Justice also of the Supreme Court, and one of the most influential members of the First Congress, which met in 1774; Judge Daniel Jenckes, whose name is so prominent in connection with the history of the College Charter, for forty years a member of the General Assembly, and for nearly thirty years Chief Justice of the Providence County Court. His daughter Rhoda was the mother of Hon. Nicholas Brown, from whom the University derives its name; Hon. Josias Lyndon, who, in 1768, was elected Governor, by an overwhelming majority of nearly fifteen hundred; Nicholas Brown, the distinguished merchant of Providence, a liberal benefactor of the College, and a life-long friend of Mr. Smith; Col. Job Bennet, the first Treasurer of the Corporation; Doct. Joshua Babcock, of Westerly, who in 1775, was appointed Major General of the Rhode Island militia, and who also held various public offices of responsibility and trust; Doct. Thomas Eyres of Newport, a graduate of Yale College, and the first Secretary of the Corporation; the Rev. Edward Upham, Rev. Gardner Thurston, and Rev. John Maxon, Pastors of the three Baptist Churches in Newport; the Rev. Samuel Winsor, Pastor of the Baptist Church in Providence; Rev. Samuel Stillman, of Boston, Rev. John Gano, of New York, and Rev. Morgan Edwards, of Philadelphia. To Mr. Edwards belongs unquestionably the distinguished honor of having been the prime mover in originating the College in connection with the Philadelphia Association. This, and his efforts afterwards in securing funds from abroad to endow it, he deemed the greatest service he had ever rendered for the Baptist cause.

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The duties of a Fellow, which Mr. Smith now assumed, he conscientiously discharged with rare ability and zeal. For a period of forty years, or until his decease, he attended the annual meetings of the Corporation, and also the Commencements, having been absent, as appears from his diary, as well as from the College records, but twice in all that time. And this too, although he lived seventy miles away, and was obliged in every case to come and go either on horseback or in his own chaise. In those olden times there was a "Commencement Sermon" at the close of the day, and crowds of people were wont to flock to the spacious Baptist Church to hear "the great man of Haverhill," or the eloquent Stillman of Boston.

Resuming now our extracts from the diary:

Sat., Sept. 7. Embarked for New York, where we arrived Sabbath evening. Lodged at Mr. Gano's.—Mon., 9. Went to my brother Jeremiah's, and likewise to Esquire Stites', to let them know that Mr. and Mrs. Manning and Capt. White were coming to the Point by water.—Tues., 10. I was at Esq. Stites' and my brother Jeremiah's.—Wed. Went to my father's.—Thurs., 12. Visited Obadiah Smith and Happy Cook and their families.—Fri., 13. In the evening I preached at Happy Cook's from Col. 3: 4.—Sat., 14. Went to Capt. Brookfield's in Morristown, and preached there that night from Heb. 6: 19. Lodged there.—Sabb., 15. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house in Morristown, from Matt. 25: 10. A solemn meeting it was. In the evening I preached at Mr. Brooks' from CHARITY.—Mon., 16. Capt. White, my companion, and I went to Middletown, to Capt. Geo. Taylor's, where we were kindly received by the young people, their parents having gone to Long Island to see Polly. We stayed there till Thurs., 19th, and then set out for Philadelphia by way of Hopewell.—Fri., 20. We went to Rev. Samuel Jones' in

¹ Mr. Jones, more commonly known as the Rev. Dr. Jones, was at this time Pastor of the church at Southampton, and also of the church at Pennepack. In 1770, he resigned the care of the former, retaining the pastorate of the latter until his death, in 1814. "Dr. Jones," says his biographer, "if not superior in scholarly

Southampton, and lodged there.—Sat., 21. Went to Philadelphia, to Esquire Jones', where we lodged the whole time we were in town.—Sub., 22. I preached three sermons in the Baptist meeting house,¹ the two first from Matt. 25: 10, and the third from Col. 13: 13, CHARITY. I preached with much freedom.—Mon., 23. I went in the forenoon to Pennepek² and preached there in the Baptist meeting house, from John 5: 25. A good meeting it was. In the afternoon I preached in the Baptist meeting house in Southampton, from Heb. 6: 19. The assembly was solemn. In the evening I preached at Mr. Dungan's, from Isa. 3: 10, 11. A solemn meeting.—Tues., 24. I preached in the forenoon at Azariah Drake's, from, "If ye will deal kindly and truly with my master tell me, and if not tell me, that I may turn to the right hand or to the left." I believe God was with us. In the afternoon, I preached in the Baptist meeting house in Hopewell, from, "For me to live in Christ, and to die is gain." The assembly was large and solemn.—Wed., 25. Went to Commencement at Princeton, and took my Master's degree. Lodged that same night at Mr. Eaton's.—Thurs., 26. Went to Pennsylvania to Mr. Drake's again, and preached from, "And he must needs go through Samaria." I trust the Lord assisted me. After service we went to Mr. Thomas' in Pennepek, and I preached there that evening, from John 3: 36, to a large number of people. Was much enlarged in my own soul.—Fri., 27. Went to Philadelphia, and lodged the whole time at Esquire Jones'. In the evening I preached from, "I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire that thou mayest be rich." Had considerable freedom of soul.

attainments to every other American Baptist of his day, was equalled by few, and surpassed by none." He was graduated at the College of Philadelphia in 1762. In 1763, he was sent to Newport by the Philadelphia Association to aid in obtaining a charter for Rhode Island College. There he remodeled the rough draft of one, which soon afterwards obtained legislative sanction. He had an academy at Pennepek, where he educated many young men for the Christian ministry. Upon the death of Dr. Manning, in 1791, the attention of the Corporation was at once turned to him, as the proper person to succeed him in the Presidency. He was for half a century the most prominent member of the Philadelphia Association. He was "a large and firmly-built man, six feet or more in height, and in every way well proportioned. His face was the very image of intelligence and good nature, while his entire appearance was uncommonly attractive."

¹ This was the house of worship of the First Baptist Church, of which the Rev. Morgan Edwards, who first moved in the matter of founding Rhode Island College, was at this time Pastor.

² Pennepek, afterwards called the Lower Dublin Baptist Church, is in the County of Philadelphia, a few miles north of the city. This is the oldest Baptist Church in the State, having been organized in 1687 through the labors and influence of Elias Keach.

—Sat., 28. I was in town.—Sabb., 29. I preached two sermons from Acts 11: 18, and in the evening from Phil. 1: 21, to a crowded and solemn assembly.

Mr. Smith and his companion set out on their return on the following Tuesday, October 1. They stopped at Upper Freehold, Middletown, Woodbridge, Rahway, Connecticut Farms, Scotch Plains, and Morris County, where Mr. Smith's father lived. At all these places he preached with acceptance to crowded assemblies. They also stopped with Samuel and Benjamin Smith at Porsiping. On the twelfth, they were with Mr. Gano in New York, and on the fourteenth, with Simon Dehart on Long Island. Their route home was through Connecticut and Rhode Island to Warren, and from thence to Boston and Haverhill, where they arrived, November 1, where Mr. Smith "hired a room of Mrs. White to board in."

Monday, November 10. Mr. Smith had a visit from his friend the Rev. Samuel Jones of Pennsylvania, who spent two weeks with him, visiting, exhorting, and preaching. On the seventeenth, he preached in the forenoon. Mr. Jones preached in the afternoon, and Mr. Smith then baptized Jonathan Shepard, Mr. Busriol, and Richard Dow. On the Lord's Day following he baptized Mr. Perley and Mrs. Mooers. The year 1766 commenced on Wednesday, when he preached a sermon adapted to the occasion, from Jeremiah xxviii: 16. "Therefore thus saith the Lord: Behold I will cast thee from the face of the earth; this year thou shalt die because thou hast taught rebellion against the Lord." Monday, January 6, he attended the funeral of Mrs. Hill at Solomon Kimball's in Bradford, at whose house, a few days later, he

encountered great opposition. We present the account in his own words:—

Wed., Jan. 15, 1766. I went to Bradford and preached at Mr. Pike's, from Acts 17: 6. "Those that have turned the world upside down are come hither also." It was a very solemn meeting.—Thurs., 16. I went to Solomon Kimball's in Bradford, and preached from "I will arise and go to my Father: and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee." But before service, Millikin the Sheriff, and several of the head men of the Parish, came to prevent my preaching, and threatened me very much, should I proceed. At last, when they were engaged in their opposing talk, I began service, upon which they held their peace, and went out, leaving us to carry on the service without any more disturbance.

Mrs. Martha Kimball, writing to the Rev. Isaac Backus in 1774,—her husband, Solomon Kimball having meanwhile died,—gives the following account of this affair:—"The Rev. Hezekiah Smith was shamefully treated by many of the people of Bradford, who came, headed by the Sheriff Amos Millikin, at a time when Mr. Smith was to preach a sermon in our house at the request of my husband, and warmly contended with him, and threatened him if he did proceed. However, Mr. Smith went to begin service by singing, notwithstanding the noise, clamor, and threats of the people. But one of their number snatched the chair behind which Mr. Smith stood, from before him; upon which my husband desired Mr. Smith to tarry a little till he had quelled the tumult; but all his endeavors to silence them were in vain. Upon which my husband desired Mr. Smith to begin public service; which accordingly he did, and went through then without further molestation." In the same letter to Mr. Backus, which is published in the new edition of his history, Mrs. Kimball adds the following statement, which

is in keeping with the foregoing:—"In the year 1768, in a very cold night in the winter, about nine or ten o'clock in the evening, I was taken prisoner, and carried by the collector in the town where I live, from my family, consisting of three small children, in order to be put into jail. It being a severe cold night, I concluded, by advice, while I was detained at a tavern some hours in the way to jail, to pay the sum of about £4 8s. legal money, for which I was made a prisoner, it being for the ministerial rate. The reason why I refused paying it before, was because I was a Baptist, and belonged to the Baptist Society in Haverhill, and had carried in a certificate to the Assessors, as I suppose, according to law. After I had paid what they demanded, then I had to return two miles to my poor fatherless children through the snow, on foot, in the dead of the night, exposed to the severity of the cold."

Tuesday, February 18. Mr. Smith went to John Penbody's in Andover, and preached from Acts xxviii: 22. "But we desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest; for as concerning this sect, we know that everywhere it is spoken against." A practical illustration of this text he had the next month, when he attended the usual Fast on the first Thursday in April. The journal thus reads:—

Thurs., April 3. I attended a Fast at Hampstead. What the Fast was for I know not, unless to pray the Baptists from Hampstead, or against their growth; for although it was before the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, yet in all the ministers' prayers that day, not one word did I hear about the Lord's Supper, and not one petition for the Baptists, that they might be brought to see their error.

Mr. McGregore¹ preached in the forenoon, who was very smart

¹ Probably Rev. David McGregore, Pastor of the Congregational Church in the west part of the town of Londonderry. He was the son of the Rev. James McGregore, the first ordained minister of the place, who died, March 5, 1729, at the age of 82. The present McGregore died in 1777, at the age of 67. His biographer

against the Baptists. To the best of my remembrance, these and such like expressions he had in his sermon: "The Anabaptists are the incendiaries of hell." "They are the greatest plagues or judgments that the Church has ever had since the Reformation." Speaking to the ministers then present he said: "We are between two fires, the artillery of hell, the Papists, on the one hand; and the Antinomians and Anabaptists on the other hand." In conclusion, he added, "Were you to be informed all about them, it would make both ears to tingle, but I forbear." Mr. Hale preached in the afternoon and did not meshle with the Baptists.

Wed., April 9. Mr. Smith writes, "I attended the funeral of George Duncan, who died on Monday. He was one of my scholars." From this it would seem that he gave private instruction, in addition to his public duties. After his return from the war he built him a school-house, and for a series of years taught lads the various branches of knowledge, fitting some of them for college.

April 15 and 16, he writes: "I was with Mr. Manning, who came to see me, and who preached both days in my house." From Haverhill, President Manning went to Dr. Stillman's house in Boston, where Smith joined him in a few days, and the two proceeded together to Warren. Here he remained three weeks, visiting meanwhile Newport, stopping as usual with his friend Col. Bennet, and preaching in the three Baptist meeting houses for the Rev. Messrs. Upham, Thurston, and Maxon. In August following, he was with Mr. Manning again, conferring with him, doubtless, in regard to the formation of the Warren Association, of which we shall have occasion to speak more fully in another chapter.

speaks of him as "a man eminent for piety, talents, eloquence, and devotion to the cause of civil liberty." In regard to the Baptists, he seems, like many others of his day, to have labored under a delusion.

On the 28th of this month, it was moved by the church over which Manning was Pastor, as appears from the records, "that an association be entered into, with sundry churches of the same faith and order, as it was judged a likely method to promote the peace of the churches."

Mon., April 14, he writes: "Attended the funeral of Solomon Kimball." This was the Kimball at whose house in Bradford he was so shamefully treated a few months before. — Thurs., May 15th, he writes: "I waited on Master White at the raising of his house." This is a pleasant allusion to one of the good old customs. The raising of a house in a New England town, was always a festive occasion, when friends from far and near came together to render assistance, and to share in the abundant hospitalities of the owner. — Wed., May 21. "I went to Andover to meet the Rev. Mr. Symmes of that town, to dispute with him about my principles, and stayed all night at Mr. Peabody's, where we held the dispute." This was probably a friendly conference on the subject of baptism. Soon afterwards he attended a conference of a different character, as his journal shows :

Mon., May 28, I went to Newbury, to Deacon Somersby's to clear up my character in regard to being an Antinomian; but when I got to Newbury I could not have a public hearing upon it, Mr. Parsons, in whose pulpit I had been charged with holding to the Antinomian errors, was not willing I should declare my mind in public until he had first talked with me in private. But as he had wronged my character by [my] being in private [with him] before, I refused being alone with him, but was willing to dispute with him in public, and clear myself from the false charges. I stayed in Newbury till Tuesday in the afternoon, and then went home.

Among Mr. Smith's papers is a long communication from his friend, the Rev. John Cleaveland, of Chebacco,

dated Ipswich, June 12, 1766, and commencing as follows: "Reverend Sir. I am very sorry to hear that you have embraced Dr. Gill's sentiments concerning justification. This will be a more effectual bar to your usefulness, than your being of his sentiments as to the subject and mode of baptism. For justification in the sight of God by faith without the deeds of the law is, as Luther says, a fundamental of the true Church, and of such moment, that, if the Church rightly maintains it, she stands, but if she rejects it, or embraces something else in the room of it, she falls. Dr. Gill's notion of justification from eternity of faith and justification by faith, is as much like the Antinomian notion as one crow's egg is like another." Mr. Smith does not seem to have satisfied the Congregationalists, either in his preaching or his theology. In these respects, however, he shared the fate of the best Baptist ministers of his time.

Tues., June 17, he writes: "Went over from Charlestown to Boston. Tarry'd in Boston till Friday, when I left and returned to Haverhill. My chief business in Boston was to see about putting my piece upon baptism in the press." A copy of this rare pamphlet is in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, Massachusetts. It is entitled, "The Doctrine of Believer's Baptism by Immersion only; asserted and maintained against the attempts of Mr. J. Parsons." 8vo. Boston. 1766. pp. IV. 56. Three years afterwards he published a second piece entitled, "Second Reply to Mr. Jonathan Parsons on Baptism." 8vo., Newport. 1769. pp. 104. The titles of these two pamphlets are given by the Rev. Dr. H. M. Dexter, in his recent work of ten hundred and forty-two royal octavo pages, entitled, "Congregationalism as seen in its Literature."

Thurs., July 24, the journal reads:—"Preached two sermons, one in my meeting house, from Prov. 8: 15, 'By me kings reign and princes decree justice,' and the other at New Rowley, from Ps. 119: 68, 'Thou art good and doest good.' It was a good Thanksgiving Day, which day was by authority set apart as a day of thanksgiving, on account of the repeal of the Stamp Act." Mr. Smith was a keen observer of the times, and kept himself well informed in all matters relating to the country. Hence his sermons on occasions like the one here referred to were eminently patriotic, and abounded in wise and thoughtful suggestions.

Mon., Sept. 1, he set out once more for his home in the Jerseys. He stopped on his way at Medfield, attended the annual meeting of the Corporation of the College at Newport, and afterwards attended the Commencement at Yale College in New Haven. On the 18th, he visited the Rev. Mr. Miller at Scotch Plains, and then went to his father's in Morris County.—Mon., Oct., 6th, he writes: "I preached at my father's a sermon from Ps. 23: 1. After sermon, I baptized my mother in the Passaic River. In the evening, I preached at Happy Cook's from, 'Let the inhabitants of the rock sing.'"

Doubtless, the assembled villagers did sing, under the inspiring leadership of the preacher, "with the spirit and the understanding." He returned to Haverhill on the 17th, after an absence of nearly seven weeks.

After long delay, Mr. Smith formally accepted the call of the Baptist Society in Haverhill, and having first united with the Church, by letter from the Baptist Church in Charleston, South Carolina, a day was appointed for the public services of installation. The

settlement of the only Baptist minister in that section of New England created no small stir among enemies and opposers, while the hearts of friends were filled with devout thanksgiving and gladness. The record for two weeks is as follows:

Sab., Nov. 2. In the forenoon the Rev. John Sutton¹ preached, and in the afternoon I preached from John 14: 22.—Mon., Sat., visiting, studying, and getting my house in readiness to live in.—Sab., 9. The Rev. Mr. Gano preached both parts of the day.—Monday and Tuesday with him.—Wed., Nov. 12. I was installed to the pastoral care of the Baptist Church in Haverhill, by the Rev. Gano, from New York, who preached a sermon suitable to the occasion, from Matt. 23: 20; the Rev. Manning, President of Rhode Island College, who gave the charge; and the Rev. Stillman, of Boston, who gave the Right Hand of Fellowship.

Thus were commenced official relations which were continued with increasing profit and usefulness until Mr. Smith's death, a period of nearly forty years.

We close this chapter with an extract from "Sketches of the Life and Character of the Rev. Hezekiah Smith, D. D.," furnished a half a century ago for the *Christian Watchman*,² by the late Rev. Dr. Stephen P. Hill, of Washington. Dr. Hill, a graduate of Brown University, was for several years Pastor of the Baptist Church in Haverhill. He thus had rare facilities for gathering up

¹ Mr. Sutton, who was an intimate friend of Manning and Smith, was a graduate of Hopewell Academy, in New Jersey. He accompanied Manning on his tour through the New England Colonies, when he made his first visit to Newport, and proposed to the leading Baptists there the matter of founding Rhode Island College. Mr. Gano, as has already been stated, was the brother-in-law of Manning, and the pastor and guide of Smith in his youth. He was regarded by the early Baptists as a "star of the first magnitude," as a "prince among the hosts of Israel." Dr. Stillman, as a popular preacher, had no superior in New England. Among his admirers were the elder President Adams, General Knox, and Governor Hancock, the latter of whom was for a time a member of his congregation.

² In a succession of articles, the first of which appeared, Jan. 10, 1836. See note page 20.

facts and incidents illustrative of the life of his predecessor, while the recollection of them was fresh in the minds of the people.

Mr. Smith, with Milton, "fell on evil days and evil tongues," and even those who could pride themselves upon a boasted spirit of Christian benevolence, found it for their convenience to fabricate or to diffuse all manner of slander against him. We forbear to repeat the number of calumnies which we have been credibly informed were industriously circulated, with a view to destroy his influence; but they were so many, that the imagination must have been tortured and exhausted in their invention. Would we might even stop here; but no, truth obliges us to record farther, that to these barbed shafts of malice, were added, personal indignity and violence, in forms of barbarity, which frequently endangered his life. In several instances did Providence effect for him very narrow escapes from assassination. Over the details of these atrocities, we have, upon second thought, crossed our pen, and it has given us very much pain to allude to them even in general terms; for though, instead of perpetuating the remembrance of deeds at which enlightened humanity recoils, we would sooner commit them to oblivion; yet as the end of history is improvement, and as history itself is a plain and impartial statement of fact, we had not the choice of omission. It may be said that these outrages, and such as these, did not receive the sanction of the people, and were not approved beyond the disorderly and unprincipled rabble, by whom they were committed. This we would gladly believe, did they not seem to proceed from a source entitled to authority, and able to enforce the law. But even though this were the case, when we see in a community offences practiced, without rebuke, however worthless the instruments by which they are practiced, we reasonably infer that the people love to have it so. It is most wonderful that the air of that beautiful region, which lies along the Merrimack River, should have proved so unfavorable to the growth of religious freedom. Few places in this world can boast of scenery so delightful and enchanting. The outspread landscape of hill and valley, river and lake, field and forest, with its rich and changeful tints, and the mellowing glories of the skies that smile above it, presents a thousand beauties, and in every variety of form that can gratify the senses or the imagination. It is so lovely and so imposing, so varied and so serene, that it is the last place which we should select, as the probable theatre for the exhibition of bad passions; and the fact that it ever was

such, it is difficult to account for on other grounds than those to which we have alluded. We must remember, what we have before intimated, that along with the first emigrants to these American Colonies, there came a strong leaven of the fierce bigotry and proscriptive intolerance that still existed in the Old World. The religious denominations, which had obtained a prior influence, were disposed to regard the Baptists with an evil eye, and to interpose every possible hindrance to the prevalence of such a name.

After the period to which we have now alluded, there occurs an interval of nine years, in which no circumstance, particularly remarkable, in the life of Mr. Smith, is known. They were years passed amid the patient and unwearied toils of parochial duty, than which, though none are so important and eventful, yet none are more noiseless and unobtrusive. Meanwhile, his influence, like a soft and gentle distillation, worked through the community, gradually overcame its prejudice, and subdued its hate. He braved the storm that the passions of hostile men had gathered around him, and saw at length the warring elements subside into a calm. In many of his enemies, enmity was changed into respect; in most it was softened into friendship; and if there were any that could still foster it in their bosoms, they dared not, so altered was the tone of public sentiment towards him, to give it any form of outward expression.

CHAPTER III.

MISSIONARY TOURS—WARREN ASSOCIATION—RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE—OPPRESSIONS OF THE BAPTISTS—MARRIAGE—RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

1767-1774.

Missionary work—Formation of new churches—Ephraim Bowd—Tours through Maine and New Hampshire—Joshua Emery—Formation of the Warren Association—Letter of the Haverhill Church—Noah Allen—Civil and religious liberties threatened—Fast day—Visit to Rhode Island—Another Fast—First Commencement of Rhode Island College at Warren—Final location of the College—Appointed by the Corporation to solicit funds in the South—Official document—Sets out on his tour—Jonathan Todd—Absent eight months—Success—Thanks of the Corporation—Pulpit services everywhere in requisition—Eliphalet Smith, a Congregational minister in Deerfield, baptized—President Manning's account—Dr. Shepard at Stratham—Custom of catechizing the children—Debate on baptism—George Whitefield—Anecdote of Smith while on a missionary tour—Dancing assembly—First Commencement of the College at Providence—Appointed Agent by the Warren Association to go to England and seek redress from oppression—Member of the Standing Committee of the churches on grievances—Oppressions in Ashfield on the part of the Standing Order—Stopped by order of the English Government—Committee in London appointed to co-operate with the Standing Committee of the Churches—Stennett, Llewelyn and Wallin—Backus—Smith attends General Court—Petition presented—Courtship and marriage—Family—Letter of congratulation from Francis Pelot—Visit to Rhode Island—Tours and baptisms—Measuring his wife's land in Boxford—Birth of his first son—Visits the Academy at Wrentham—William Williams—Journey to the Jerseys—Attends Commencement at New Haven, and receives the degree of A. M.—Judge Howell—Funeral of Esquire White's wife—Dr. Langdon, her brother-in-law, a rigid Congregationalist—Smith as a farmer and the owner of dwelling houses and buildings—Warren Association recommends that no more certificates be carried in by the churches—Reasons as stated by Backus—The next year the Association chooses Backus as their Agent to attend the Congress of Delegates at Philadelphia, and endeavor to secure religious liberty at home, as well as civil rights from abroad—Movement for the time unsuccessful—Wonderful increase of Baptist sentiments since 1764—Four days of fasting and prayer recommended by the Association—Certificate given to Backus by the Association.

Having now become permanently established as the Pastor of a church, Mr. Smith began to carry out his

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long cherished purposes and plans in regard to missionary work. He made frequent evangelizing tours throughout the adjoining counties and states, as his diary shows, mostly on horseback, preaching the gospel after the manner of Whitefield, with great acceptance and power. Many of his excursions were in unfrequented places, where his life was sometimes exposed to danger. "In journeyings often" he was, like the great apostle, wholly engaged in preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ. He was thus rendered eminently useful to weak and feeble churches, and instrumental in gathering churches which had had no previous existence. In remote places in Maine, and in the unsettled parts of New Hampshire and Vermont, where the preaching of the gospel had been scarcely known, his voice was heard, alarming the careless, healing the broken hearted, conveying consolation to the poor, and proclaiming deliverance to them who were bound. During these periods of travel he saw human nature in all its lights and shades, and under every modification.

In this work, to which he devoted henceforth his best energies, his church fully sympathized, sometimes sending out one or two of its members to accompany him; confirming by formal vote their proceedings, which were duly reported on their return; and encouraging the formation of new churches. Thirteen churches were thus established within a few years, as appears from the official records. Falmouth, (Portland) Gorham, Sanford, Berwick, Saco, and other places in the State of Maine; Brentwood, Stratham, Exeter, Deerfield, Hopkinton, Dunbarton, Nottingham, and other settlements in New Hampshire; and Methuen, Dracut, Chelmsford, Rowley, and other towns in Massachusetts, were all benefited by

these itinerating services. The present chapter will consist largely of extracts from his diary, illustrating this feature of his labors, and forming interesting material for the history of the progress of Baptist sentiments in New England.

Thurs., April 30, 1767. At Boston.—Friday, May 1. In the evening preached at Mr. Bownd's¹ Meeting House, from Rom. 7: 4.—Sat., 2. In Boston.—Sab., 3. Preached in the forenoon at Mr. Bownd's meeting house, from Rom. 5: 11, and in the afternoon at Mr. Stillman's meeting house, from Isa. 55: 1. The following week at Boston, part of the time laboring.—Sab. 10. Preached two sermons at Mr. Stillman's meeting house.—Mon., May 11. Went to Acton² and preached two sermons at Mark White's,—from Rom. 9: 33. The assemblies were solemn.—Tues., 12. In the forenoon preached at Mr. David Lock's in Chelmsford,³ from "so run that ye may obtain," and in the afternoon at Edward Spaulding's in Billerica,⁴ from Luke 5: 31. God was with us. That evening went to Thos. Osgood's, and the next evening went home.—Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, at home.—Sab., 17. Preached two sermons from Job 31: 20, and in the evening I preached at Hanytend⁵ at John Johnson's, from Rom. 9: 33. Lodged there.—Mon., 18. Preached in the forenoon at Mr. Marshall's in Chester,⁶ from Rom 5: 1, and in the afternoon at Leonard Harriman's in Suncook,⁷ from Rom. 9: 33. Lodged there. I trust God was with me.—Tues., 19. Went to Hopkinton.⁸ Preached two sermons, one in a barn, from Luke 5: 31, and the other at Mark Jewett's, from Isa. 9. 6. Both discourses I trust were blessed. A glorious appearance of the power of God followed. Lodged there.—Wed., 20. Went to Ames-

¹ Rev. Ephraim Bownd, to whom Mr. Smith here refers, was the first Pastor of the Second Baptist Church, afterwards known as the Baldwin Place Church, under the ministry of the Rev. Dr. Baldwin and the Rev. Dr. Stow. He died, June 18, 1768, but the house in which he preached continued to be called "Mr. Bownd's meeting house."

² Acton, Massachusetts, 21 miles N. W. of Boston.

³ On the south side of Merrimack River, 25 miles N. W. from Boston.

⁴ A pleasant town 18 miles N. W. from Boston.

⁵ A town in Rockingham County, N. H., between Merrimack and Piscataqua rivers.

⁶ Another town in Rockingham County.

⁷ A small village on the Suncook River.

⁸ A post town in N. H.,—settled in 1740, by emigrants from Hopkinton, Massachusetts. A Baptist Church was constituted here in 1771.

bury town,¹ and preached two sermons there, the first in the meeting house from Isa. 35: 1, and the second in a private house, from Isa. 42: 1. Then returned to Mrs. Kimball's in Hopkinton, and preached from Acts 28: 22. A solemn meeting indeed. Lodged there.—Thurs., 21. In the forenoon preached at Capt. Page's in Dunbarton,² from Rom. 1: 16, and in the afternoon at the meeting house, from Solomon's Song, 5: 2. Lodged that night at Lieut. Hinton's. — Fri., 22. Preached at the Deerfield meeting house from John 7: 37, and then went to Mr. Bly's in Plaistow.³ Lodged there.—Sat., 23. Went home and prepared for the Sabbath. I trust God was with me through the whole journey, and greatly owned my labors.

Tues., June 9. Went to Capt. Foss' in Portsmouth, and lodged there.—Wed., 10. After giving my evidence to the Court that the Newton⁴ Baptist Church is of regular standing according to our order, and in fellowship with our Church and the Boston Baptist Churches, I preached in the evening, from, "The law is good, if a man use it lawfully." Mon., June 22. Preached in the forenoon at Capt. Morrill's in Brentwood,⁵ from Solomon's Song, 1: 5, and in the afternoon at the Rev. Mr. Ewer's in New-Market,⁶ from John 3: 7.—Tues., 23. In the forenoon at the Rev. Mr. Hutchinson's at Lee,⁷ from Hos. 4: 17, and in the afternoon at Mr. Hyde's in Madbury,⁸ from

¹ Amesbury, Mass., on the North side of Merrimack River, 40 miles N. E. from Boston.

² A post-township in Hillsborough County, 7 miles from Hopkinton. Capt. Caleb Page, at whose house Mr. Smith preached in the forenoon, was one of the first settlers of the town. He was proprietor's Clerk many years, and held several important offices. He went to Dunbarton from Atkinson, originally a part of Haverhill.

³ Plaistow was originally a part of Haverhill, and is bounded by it on the south-west.

⁴ The first Baptist Church that was formed in New Hampshire, says Backus, was at Newton, north of Haverhill, in 1753. Difficulties afterwards arose, and the Church was finally dissolved, many of the members joining the Church at Haverhill. Mr. Smith's evidence had reference, doubtless, to the exemption of Baptists in Newton from the payment of taxes for the support of Congregational worship.

⁵ Brentwood is a post town in New Hampshire, on the Exeter River. A Congregational Church was organized here in 1732, over which the Rev. Nathaniel Trask was ordained.

⁶ New-Market was originally a part of Exeter. The Rev. Nathaniel Ewer, to whom Mr. Smith refers, succeeded the Rev. John Moody, as Pastor of the Congregational Church.

⁷ Lee, which was incorporated in 1766, was originally a part of Durham, New Hampshire.

⁸ Madbury, which formerly constituted a part of Dover, was incorporated in

John 9: 7. In the evening at Dr. Lord's at Berwick,¹ from Col. 1: 9.—Wed., preached at Deacon Kimball's in Kennebunk,²—Thurs., 25. Preached at Freetown, from John 3: 3.—Fri., 26, at Gorham town,³ from Isa. 55: 1.—Sat., 27. Visited some in Gorham.—Sabb., 28. Preached in Gorham meeting house a sermon from John 5: 25, and baptized William Cotton, Mrs. Morton, and Lydia Dunn.—Mon., 29. Went to Falmouth and gave an exhortation at Mr. Burnham's.—Tues., 30. Preached a sermon at Gorham, from Gal. 3: 29, and baptized John Cotton and Bryant Morton, after Mr. Clark had preached from Gen. 17: 7, and sprinkled twenty odd children.—Wed., July 1. Preached at Capt. Lane's, from 1 Cor. 9: 24, in the forenoon, and then baptized Edward Chapman, John Lane, and Aaron Gould in Saco River by the Block House. After baptizing, I preached at the Block House from Isa. 3: 10-11. Lodged that night at Peter Ayres'.—Thurs., 2. Went to Massibeswick,⁴ to Simeon Coffin's, where the next day I preached from, "Ye have robbed me."—Sat., 4. Preached in Philipstown meeting house, from Jer. 3: 22.—Sabb., 5. Preached in a barn in Philipstown, because there was not room to hold the people in the meeting house, and likewise because **THE BARN WAS HANDIEST TO THE RIVER**, where I baptized that day Simeon Coffin and Sarah Coffin.—Preached two sermons in the barn, from John 15: 10.—Mon., 6. Preached in Mr. Emery's⁵ pulpit in Berwick, from Heb. 2: 3.—Tues., 7. Preached in the forenoon, from Gen. 28: 12, at Dr. Knight's, and in the afternoon at Dr. Lord's, from Jer. 31: 20.—Wed., 8. Preached, from Luke 5: 31, at Denham Falls, and from Eph. 5: 14, at Mr. Hutchinson's meeting house in Lee.—Thurs.,

1735. There was no regular church here at this time, but in 1738, the Rev. Samuel Hyde commenced preaching, and continued until 1770.

¹ Berwick, a town on the east side of Salmon River, Maine, was incorporated in 1713.

² On the southwest side of Kennebunk River, regarded as one of the pleasantest towns in Maine.

³ Gorham, 9 miles from Portland, was first settled in 1734. The Rev. Solomon Lombard, a native of Truro, Mass., was the first settled minister. He was ordained, Dec. 28, 1750. A Baptist Church was constituted here, June 20, 1764. Mr. South, Rackus states, had been sent for to baptize at this time.

⁴ This is the name of a large pond in Chester, New Hampshire. Mr. Coffin lived probably in the vicinity of this pond.

⁵ Mr. Joshua Emery, who was their religious teacher, although not ordained. The Baptist Church in Berwick was not formally constituted until June 20, 1764. Notwithstanding, says Backus, they gave in certificates of their Society, according to law, they were taxed to parish ministers, and spoliing of goods and imprisonments were severely pursued for some years.

9. Preached at Mr. Ewer's meeting house, from Prov. 6: 17, and then at Mr. Smith's in Brentwood, from Zech. 13: 1.—Fri., 10. Preached at Mr. Horr's in Brentwood, from Matt. 6: 10, and then went home. The Lord I trust was with me through the whole journey, and owned my labors much.

Thurs., Aug. 6. Went to Brentwood and preached at Capt. Morrill's, or rather in his neighbor's orchard, from Eph. 2: 20. Then baptized Mr. Folsom. After baptism at the water side I spoke some time to the people, it being one of the most solemn times, and of the greatest emotion that I ever saw at the water side.—Fri., 7. Attended monthly meeting at Newton.—Sat., 8. In my study.—Sabb., 9. Two sermons from John 4: 10.—Mon., 10. Went to Capt. Page's in Dunbarton.—Tues., 11. Preached at Widow Kimball's¹ in Hopkinton, from, "Children, have ye any meat? They answered him, No."—Wed., 12. Preached two sermons at Mr. Jewett's in Hopkinton, from Rev. 2: 17. Solemn and blessed meeting both days. God's work is going on marvelously in that place.—Mon., Aug. 30. Set out for Newport. Got there Tuesday. Made my home while there at Col. Bennett's.²—Wed., Sept. 2. Sat with the Corporation of the College till Thursday. Thursday evening preached in Mr. Thurston's meeting house, from Solomon's Song, ch. 1: 4.—Sat., 5. Preached in Mr. Maxon's pulpit, from John 31: 20.—Sabb., Sept. 6. In the forenoon I preached in Mr. Upham's pulpit, from Rom. 5: 1, in the afternoon in Mr. Thurston's pulpit from Solomon's Song 5: 2, and in the evening again for Mr. Thurston.

Mon., Sept. 7. Mr. Smith writes:—"Went to Warren.—Tues., 8. Met with a number to form a regular Association. Mr. Gano, from New York, preached a sermon upon the occasion at the opening of the meeting.—Wed., 9. Mr. Manning's Church at Warren, Mr. Hind's at Middleborough, Mr. Alden's at Bellingham,

¹ A relative probably of Abraham Kimball, who was the first male child born in town.

² Col. Job Bennett, who, as has already been stated, was Treasurer of Rhode Island College. He was a wholesale merchant, dealing in West India goods, and also in lumber. His store was on Thames Street. From an advertisement which appears in the Newport "Mercury," under date, Sept. 5, 1768, it would seem that he was an extensive owner of real estate, having several houses to let.

and ours at Haverhill,¹ formed an Association. The same evening I preached from Prov. 3: 17." Manning, Smith, Noah Alden,² and Ebenezer Hinds,—four illustrious

¹ The following is the letter of the Haverhill Church to the Warren Association as given in the records, under date of Aug. 28, 1767.

"We, the Church of Christ in Haverhill, having been baptized upon profession of faith, holding to believers' baptism by immersion, particular election, original sin, redemption through Christ, and final perseverance, etc., to the Reverend ministers and messengers of the Several Baptist Congregations met at Warren to form a regular Association, send greeting:—

"DEARLY BELOVED:—We hope you will, through divine goodness, be directed to form a regular and useful Association, which shall conduce to the benefit of Christ's cause and the Baptists' interests in general. For those of the same faith to disagree among themselves must hurt the general body, and give the enemy great advantage against them; so that we view the interest of Christ particularly concerned in the body now forming, in which we hope to have a place.

"Our Church was constituted on the 9th of May, 1763, being twenty-three in number, and in the same year we had thirty-four added to the church. In the year 1766, we had twenty-nine added; and in the present year, 1767, we have had twenty-one added, so that we consist of one hundred and seven members at present. We are blessed with peace and unity among us. As to the state of religion, although it is not so lively as it has been in our congregation, yet we trust God has not quite left us. For more particulars we refer you to our brethren, Hezekiah Smith, Jonathan Shepard, and Jacob Whittier, who are appointed by the Church to meet with you and assist in a work truly laudable, and which we trust will conduce to God's glory. Now unto God and the word of his grace we recommend you, begging that the All-wise Jesus will preside over all your deliberations, and guide you in the onerous undertaking.

"So pray your brethren in the gospel."

² The Rev. Noah Alden, whose name frequently occurs in connection with Smith, Manning, and Fillman, was a lineal descendant from the famous John Alden of Plymouth. He was born in Middleborough, Mass., in 1723. In 1753, he became a Baptist, and shortly afterwards he was ordained as Pastor of a church in Stafford, Connecticut. In 1766, he was installed as Pastor of the Church in Bellingham, Mass., where he remained until his death in 1797. "He was," says his biographer, Dr. Fisher, "for many years one of our most distinguished and honored ministers, and his name deserves to be held in grateful remembrance." He frequently presided at the meetings of the Warren Association, and he rendered good service in the cause of religious freedom. He was a delegate to the Convention which met in September, 1780, for the purpose of framing a new State Constitution, and moved to have the third article of the famous Bill of Rights, which was at first intended to give rulers power in religious matters, recommitting. "The motion," says Backus, "was concurred with, and he was elected the chairman of a committee of seven upon that article." He thus became in one sense the author of a provision in the Massachusetts Constitution which was greatly in advance of the governments of his time, and which was characterized by Dr. Paley, in his *Political Philosophy*, published in 1785, as the best arrangement for the legal maintenance of a Clergy, that had yet been proposed. The Rev. Dr. Edward E. Hale, in an instructive discourse upon the Centenary of

names, deserving for this act alone to be held by the denomination in grateful and lasting remembrance. Mr. Stillman, it should be stated, was present as a member at the next meeting of the Association, in 1768, his church having joined at that time. He wrote the circular letter to the churches, being the first document of the kind sent out from this body.

The Warren Association, which dates back to this memorable Tuesday, September 8, 1767, for its first meeting, owes its origin to the far sighted wisdom of President Manning, aided by the active and efficient co-operation of his associates. He clearly saw at the outset the necessity of uniting the Baptist Churches of New England on some common basis, in order to promote their harmony and growth, to resist more successfully acts of oppression on the part of the "Standing Order," and especially to disarm his brethren of all existing prejudices against human learning in the ministry, and thereby effectually advance the interests of the College over which he presided. The undertaking was one of no ordinary magnitude. The government of Baptist churches had been from time immemorial, as now, of the independent form, each particular church having an exclusive right of jurisdiction over its own members, electing and dismissing its own officers, and transacting all its business by final issue within itself, without appeal to any power on earth, either civil or ecclesiastical. With the New England Churches especially, it had long been an article of belief, that civil government, however desirable and necessary for civil purposes, had nothing to do with

the Massachusetts Constitution, delivered in January, 1840, has drawn special attention to this fact. Mr. Alden was also a prominent member of the Convention that adopted the Constitution of the United States.

Christ's Kingdom, which is spiritual and not of this world, and nothing to do with the visible church, which is subject to Jesus Christ alone as the head thereof. Hence they regarded all synods, conventions, associations, and councils to decide religious controversies, revoke acts of particular churches, inflict censure, form platforms, and prepare articles of faith, as useless, and antagonistic to the independency of the churches; as having more or less respect to the civil state, and so partaking too much of the carnal wisdom of this world. They had suffered too much from measures adopted at these meetings by the Congregational ministers of Massachusetts and Connecticut to be easily persuaded to meet in the form of an organized body, lest perchance they might seem to be following their example.

It was Manning's wish to unite all the churches of his faith and order in New England in an Association similar to the one in Philadelphia, which was simply advisory in its character, having respect to the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom, by spreading through the churches an account of the welfare and prosperity of each. He submitted his plan to the members of his own church, who cordially seconded his views, as appears from a formal vote, under date, Aug. 28, 1766, to which I have already referred in the preceding chapter. He also conferred with his brethren in the ministry as he had opportunity, and finally sent out letters of invitation to the various churches, as also to the parent Association in Philadelphia. The delegates and friends accordingly met in Warren, as has already been stated. The Rev. Isaac Backus, of Middleborough, was chosen Clerk, who thus commences the minutes:

Whereas, there hath of late been a great increase of Baptist churches in New England, which yet have not such an acquaintance with each other and orderly union together as ought to be, it has been thought by many that a general meeting or Association might be a likely means to remove this evil, and to promote the general good of the churches. Therefore a number of Elders, being occasionally together last year, did appoint a meeting at Warren, in Rhode Island Colony, on September 8, 1767; and sent an invitation to others of their brethren to meet them there, to confer upon these affairs. Accordingly a considerable number of Elders and Brethren met at the time and place appointed; and Elder John Gano, from New York, opened the meeting with a suitable sermon, from Acts 15: 9.

Eleven churches were represented at this first meeting by delegates, as follows: Warren, the Rev. James Manning, Benjamin Cole, and Daniel Brown; Rehoboth, the Rev. Richard Round, Samuel Bullock, and Daniel Bullock; Haverhill, the Rev. Hezekiah Smith, Jacob Whittier, and Jonathan Shepard; Norton, the Rev. William Carpenter; Bellingham, the Rev. Noah Alden; First, Middleborough, the Rev. Isaac Backus; Second, Middleborough, the Rev. Ebenezer Hinds; Cumberland, the Rev. Daniel Miller; First, Boston, Josiah Colburn; Second, Boston, Philip Freeman; Attleborough, Abraham Bloss and Joseph Guild. There were also present from the Philadelphia Association, the Rev. Messrs. John Gano, Abel Griffith, and Noah Hammond. It is a singular fact which I can hardly account for, that Manning's Church was the only one in Rhode Island represented upon this important occasion. Mr. Gano presided as Moderator, and Mr. Backus, as has already been stated, acted as Clerk.

Although the delegates in attendance "generally manifested," says the historian, "a good will toward this attempt for promoting the union and welfare of the churches, most of them thought they were not prepared

to join an Association." Four only of the churches represented were ready "sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish," to make the venture. These were, Warren, Haverhill, Bellingham, and Second Middleborough. The others seem to have hesitated, through fear perhaps of some usurpation of authority by the associated body, over the particular churches composing it. Besides, they were not altogether satisfied with the sentiments and plan of organization adopted at this time, which were substantially those of the Philadelphia Association. These were afterwards modified by President Manning; and in 1769 they were adopted as a final basis for organization and action. As such they have been continued with few changes down to the present time. They read as follows:

SENTIMENTS TOUCHING AN ASSOCIATION.

1. That such a combination of churches is not only prudent, but useful, as has appeared even in America by the experience of upwards of sixty years. Some of the uses of it are, union and communion among themselves; maintaining more effectually the order and faith once delivered to the saints; having advice in cases of doubt, and help in distress; being more able to promote the good of the cause, and becoming important in the eye of the civil powers, as has already appeared in many instances on this continent. 2. That such an Association is consistent with the independency and power of particular churches, because it pretends to be no other than an *advisory council*, utterly disclaiming superiority, jurisdiction, coercive right, and infallibility. 3. That an Association should consist of men knowing and judicious, particularly in the Scriptures. The reasons are obvious: such men are the fittest to represent communities who profess the Scriptures to be the only rule of faith and practice in religious matters, and who expect that every advice, opinion, or direction they receive from an Association be Scriptural. They should be skilled and expert in the laws of their God, as counsellors are in the laws of the land; for that is the ground of the church's application to them.

PLAN OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association to consist only of messengers chosen and sent by the churches. These messengers to be their ministers (for a reason given in sentiment 3), together with some judicious brethren. Their expenses to be borne by the churches which send them.

2. With the messengers the churches send letters addressed to the Association. In these letters mention is made of the messengers, and their authority to act for their churches; also of the state of the churches touching their peace; their increase by baptism, and by letters dismissive and commendatory from other churches; touching their diminution by death, excommunication, and dismission to other churches, and the present number of members. If any questions are to be put to the Association, any advice to ask, or business to propose, these are to be expressed in said letters.

3. All matters to be determined in this Association by the suffrage of the messengers, except what are determinable by Scripture: such matters are never put to the decision of votes. All that speak are to address the Moderator, who is to take care that none be interrupted while speaking, and that no other indecorum take place.

4. Churches are to be received into this Association by petitions setting forth their desire to be admitted, their faith, order, and willingness to be conformable to the rules of the associated body. When a petition is read, and the matter ripened for a vote, the Moderator states the question. Suffrage being given in favor of the petition, the said Moderator declares that such a church is received into the Association, in token of which he gives the messengers the *right hand of fellowship*, and bids them take their seats.

5. The Association to meet annually, at Warren, on Tuesday next after the first Wednesday in September,¹ at two o'clock in the afternoon, and to continue till business be finished. It is to be opened with divine service; after which a Moderator and Clerk are chosen; the letters from the churches are read; the names of the messengers are written, that they may be called over at after meetings; then business is attended to, and minutes thereof made; a Circular Letter to the churches is prepared and signed, and a copy of it sent to every church, containing the Minutes of the Association, the state of the churches,

¹ And as the Annual Commencement at our college is on the first Wednesday in September, and some who come to it from a distance would desire to attend the Association also, it was appointed to be on the Tuesday after the Commencement.
—Backus.

when and by whom vacancies are to be supplied, who is to preach the next Association Sermon, and whatever else is needful for the churches to know.

6. A connection to be formed and maintained between this Association and that of Philadelphia, by annual letter and messengers from us to them and from them to us.

7. The faith and order of this Association are expressed in a confession put forth by upwards of a hundred congregations in Great Britain, in the year 1689, and adopted by the Association of Philadelphia in 1742. Some of the principles in said confession are: The imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity; the inability of man to recover himself; effectual calling by sovereign grace; justification by imputed righteousness; immersion for baptism, and that on profession of faith and repentance; congregational churches and their independency; reception into them upon evidence of sound conversion, etc.

*and
Amherst*
At the second meeting of the Association, which was also held in Warren, the churches of Sutton, Leicester, Ware, and the First Church in Boston, were received; and at the third meeting, held in 1769, the churches of Sturbridge, Enfield, Wilbraham, and Montague. Gradually the Association won the confidence of the denomination, until in a few years it had extended over New England, and became a mighty power in resisting acts of oppression, in promoting civil and religious freedom, and in aiding in various ways the College over which Manning presided. The venerable Church in Providence, which under the preaching of Manning became large and flourishing, joined the body in 1782, fifteen years after its organization. The First Church in Newport did not join until four years later. In 1792 their name was omitted from the minutes by special request. The Second Church in Newport joined in 1801, and continued in fellowship with the body from that time on.

Continuing now our extracts:

Mon., Oct. 5 and Tues., 6. About home, though in the afternoon (Tuesday) I raised an end to my house.—Mon., 20. Had workmen that employed my time in directing about my house frame.

This house, which Mr. Smith enlarged and improved from time to time, is still standing, although it has been moved from its original location. It is a large, square dwelling, with a small portico in front. With its heavy beams and oaken rafters it bids fair to last yet another century.

Fri., Nov. 13. Mr. Tingley, A. M., a Congregational minister, was before the church and examined for baptism.—Sat., 14. In my study.—Sab., 15. Preached two sermons from Mark 10: 28, and between meetings baptized Mr. Pelatiah Tingley,¹ who was examined the Friday before.—Fri., Dec. 25. Monthly meeting, at which I had the account of Francis Rogers, who died the day before. He is the first member we have lost since we have been a church.—1768. Thurs., Aug. 11. We kept a fast in our church and Society, on account of the unhappy situation of affairs, our civil and religious liberties² being threatened. In the afternoon I preached a sermon from Isa. 61: 9.—Mon., Sept. 5. Set out for Rhode Island, and got to Col. Bennet's in Newport Tuesday night.—Wed., 7, and Thurs., 8. I sat with the Corporation of Rhode Island College. Thursday evening I preached a sermon in Mr. Thurston's pulpit, from Rev. 12: 11.—Fri., 9. In Newport.—Sat., 10. Went to Providence, to Nicholas Brown's.—Sab., 11. Preached two sermons in Mr. Winsor's pulpit, one from Job 23: 3, and the other from Rev. 2: 17. In the evening preached in Mr. Snow's pulpit from Rom. 5: 1.—Tues., 13. Went to Warren. Met in Association that day, also Wednesday and Thursday.—Tues., 20. Left Newport and went to Warren. Preached that same evening at Mr. Manning's meeting house, from Solomon's Song, 1: 4. Married

¹ Mr. Tingley was afterwards ordained as Pastor of a Baptist Church in Sanford, Maine.

² In Feb., 1768, the famous "Circular Letter of Massachusetts" was sent over to England, in consequence of which an army and fleet were ordered for Boston, "to reduce the dogs to reason." Affairs were growing more complicated and serious from day to day. At the same time the Baptists in Ashfield, especially, and in various other towns in New England, were fined and imprisoned without redress, for refusing to pay taxes to support Congregational worship.

at Warren till Friday.—Wed., Sept. 28. Preached two sermons in my meeting house, from 2 Cor. 4: 8, "We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair." It was a fast day,¹ held on account of the unhappy situation of the government, arising from the duties laid on glass, paper, and tea, the House of Assembly being dissolved, and our privileges being greatly threatened.—Tues., Oct. 8. Went to Pelham² to Mr. Elliot's, and preached from Rom. 10: 3. Met with no opposition, although I was greatly threatened before I went, and I also received a letter from the Selectmen of the town, warning me not to come, etc. But blessed be God we had a glorious meeting, and the power of God appeared among us.—Thurs., Jan. 5. Held a fast on account of Ephraim (Hile's child, whom some, with the child's parents, suppose is bewitched).

Mon., April 14. Preparing for my journey to the Jerseys.—Wed., May 3. Went to my father's in Hanover.—Thurs., 18. Went to my father's. Attended his vendue.

It would seem from this journey made in the spring of the year, and the public sale of household goods, that the family had broken up. The father probably failed in business. In Mr. Smith's private memoranda mention is made of money sent to his father about this time.

Aug. 10. Then I enumerated those whom I have baptized, and the number amounted to 192 persons, of whom 136 are members in our church.—Tues., Sept. 5, 1769. Went to Warren.—Wed., 6. Meeting of the Corporation of Rhode Island College, and attended the Examination of the Senior Class for degrees.—Thurs., 7. Attended the

¹ On Monday, Sept. 12, says Bancroft, the inhabitants of Boston gathered in a town meeting in Faneuil Hall, in view of the expected approach of His Majesty's troops, and to request the Governor to issue precepts for a General Assembly, which he refused to do. At this meeting, it was voted that the Selectmen wait on the several ministers of the gospel within the town to desire that Tuesday, Sept. 20, might be set apart as a day of fasting and prayer: "And it was so kept by all the Congregational Churches." In this case it seems the fast was held on Wednesday, Sept. 28th, instead of Tuesday the 20th, as recommended by the Selectmen.

² Pelham, a town in Rockingham County, New Hampshire, incorporated in 1746. There was a Congregational Church in the place, of which the Rev. Amos Moody was at this time the Pastor.

first Commencement¹ that was ever held in that College. Seven young gentlemen were graduated.—Fri., 8. The Corporation continued sitting until 12 o'clock, when we broke up. Among other business the Corporation voted that the College edifice should be set in Bristol County, and chose a committee to seek a suitable spot of land and purchase it for that end. Also the Corporation voted me to go into the Southern governments to beg for the College.

The account of the final location of the College forms a separate chapter of my quarto "History of Brown University." Four counties contended for the honor

¹ A full account of this first Commencement of the College is given in my "Life of President Manning." Of the seven young men who were graduated, two became prominent Chaplains in the American Army, one became a Brigadier General, one a physician, and one a distinguished educator of youth, and the first to give theological instruction among the Baptists in New England. The following account, taken from the *Providence Gazette*, deserves to be preserved in connection with the life of Dr. Smith:

FIRST COMMENCEMENT, 1769.

On Thursday, the seventh of this instant, was celebrated at Warren the First Commencement in the college of this colony; when the following young gentlemen commenced Bachelors of Arts; namely, Joseph Belton, Joseph Eaton, William Rogers, Richard Sittes, Charles Thompson, James Mitchel Varnum, and William Williams.

About ten o'clock, A. M., the gentlemen concerned in conducting the affairs of the college, together with the candidates, went in procession to the meeting house.

After they had taken their seats respectively, and the audience were composed, the President introduced the business of the day with prayer; then followed a salutatory oration in Latin, pronounced with much spirit, by Mr. Sittes, which procured him great applause from the learned part of the assembly. He spoke upon the advantages of liberty and learning, and their mutual dependence upon each other; concluding with proper salutations to the Chancellor of the College, Governor of the Colony, etc., particularly expressing the gratitude of all the friends of the college to the Rev. Morgan Edwards, who has encountered many difficulties in going to Europe to collect donations for the institution, and has lately returned.

To which succeeded a forensic dispute, in English, on the following thesis, namely, "The Americans, in their present circumstances, cannot, consistent with good policy, affect to become an Independent State." Mr. Varnum ingeniously defended it, by cogent arguments handsomely dressed; though he was subtly, but delicately opposed by Mr. Williams; both of whom spoke with emphasis and propriety.

As a conclusion to the exercises of the forenoon, the audience were agreeably entertained with an oration on "Benevolence," by Mr. Rogers; in which, among many other pertinent observations, he particularly noticed the necessity which

of the location, viz., Providence, Newport, Bristol, and Kent. It was finally decided in favor of Providence by a vote of twenty-one to fourteen, at a meeting of the Corporation, held in Warren, Feb. 7, 1770. The following letter from President Manning to Mr. Smith, written several days after the meeting, will be found specially interesting in this connection, as it gives a reliable account of a most important transaction, and

that infant seminary stands in, of the salutary effects of that truly Christian virtue.

At three o'clock, P. M., the audience being convened, a syllogistic dispute was introduced on this Thesis "*Materia cogitare non potest.*" Mr. Williams the respondent; Messieurs Belton, Eaton, Rogers and Varnum the opponents. In the course of which dispute, the principal arguments on both sides were produced towards settling that critical point.

The degree of Bachelor of Arts was then conferred on the candidates. Then the following gentlemen (graduated in other colleges) at their own request received the honorary degree of Master in the Arts, viz: Rev. Edward Upham, Rev. Morgan Edwards, Rev. Samuel Stillman, Rev. Hezekiah Smith, Hon. Joseph Wanton, Jun. Esq., Mr. Jabez Bowen, and Mr. David Howell, Professor of Philosophy in said College.

The following gentlemen, being well recommended by the Faculty, for literary merit, had conferred on them the honorary degree of Master in the Arts, viz: Rev. Abel Morgan, Rev. Oliver Hart, Rev. David Thomas, Rev. Samuel Jones, Mr. John Davis, Mr. Robert Strettle Jones, Mr. John Sikes, Rev. James Bryson, Rev. James Edwards, Rev. William Boulton, Rev. John Ryland, Rev. William Clark, Rev. Joshua Toulmin, and Rev. Caleb Evans.

A concise, pertinent and solemn charge was then given to the Bachelors by the President, concluding with his last paternal benediction, which naturally introduced the valedictory orator, Mr. Thompson, who, after some remarks upon the excellencies of the oratorial art, and expressions of gratitude to the patrons and officers of the College, together with a valediction to them, and all present, took a most affectionate leave of his classmates. The scene was tender—the subject felt—and the audience affected.

The President concluded the exercises with prayer. The whole was conducted with a propriety and solemnity suitable to the occasion. The audience (consisting of the principal gentlemen and ladies of this Colony and many from the neighboring governments) though large and crowded, behaved with the utmost decorum.

Not only the candidates, but even the President, were dressed in American manufactures. Finally be it observed, that *this class are the first sons of that College which has existed for more than four years; during all which time it labored under great disadvantages, notwithstanding the warm patronage and encouragement of many worthy men, of fortune and benevolence; and it is hoped, from the disposition which many discovered on that day, and other favorable circumstances, that these disadvantages will soon, in part, be happily removed.*

refers also to Mr. Smith's labors at the South in behalf of the College:

WARREN, Feb. 12, 1770.

REVEREND SIR:—Last week I received a letter from you of the 2d ult., in which you inform me of your success at Georgia, and your expectations from the South province. All your friends here rejoice that you succeed so well in getting the newful for the college. "Great luck to you," as said Mr. Francis in his prayer. I thought it strange that I had no letter by Capt. Durpee from you or Mr. Hart, as I wrote by him to you both. Last week I received a letter from Nelson, at Haverhill, and he gives me a pleasing account of matters there. Had not his modesty forbid, I imagine he would have told me that the people were well suited with him. We had another meeting of the Corporation last Wednesday, when there were thirty-five members present. They were called to consider proposals from Newport in favor of setting the edifice in that town, as they had raised by subscription £1000, lawful money, taking in their unconditional subscription. But Providence presented £1280, lawful, and advantages superior to Newport in other respects. The dispute lasted from Wednesday last, ten o'clock, A. M., until the same hour on Thursday, P. M. The matter was debated with great spirit, and before a crowded audience. The vote was put, *Recede or Not?* It went Not, by twenty-one against fourteen. You asked me in your last whether it had not raised a party in the government. I answer no; but it has warmed up the old one something considerable. I was greatly censured by people in Newport for not joining to call a meeting about the First of January, and a great noise was made because I would not act contrary to an express vote of the Corporation at the meeting on the 10th of November. But at our last meeting the house gave me liberty to attempt a vindication of my conduct, and after hearing me through in the matter, they came to a vote, *nemine contradicente*, that they saw no reason why I should be blamed in this matter, and that they approved of my conduct. In the course of the debates there was sometimes undue warmth, but upon the whole, it subsided, and all parties seemed much more unanimous than I expected, in after business. Many of the gentlemen of Newport said they had had a fair hearing, and had lost it; but their friendship to the college remained, and they would keep their places, pay their money, and forward to their utmost the design. The college edifice is to be on the same plan as that of Princeton, built of brick, four stories high, and one hundred and

fifty feet long. I wish I had a draught to send you, but it is not in my power. They determine to have the roof on next fall, and to cover it with slate, as they are now able. Now if we can get it endowed, we shall be *componendi*. This I hope you will in part accomplish. I have thought of going to the Jerseys in the spring. If I should, I cannot go to Haverhill the first of May; for I must consult my westward friends in a matter of so much consequence as moving or not moving with the college. If I go to the Jerseys, it will probably be about the middle of April. Religion is upon the revival in these parts. Messrs. Stillman and Spear were up from Boston, and Backus from Middleborough. It is said that the eight ministers at the Corporation meeting were all for Providence. This I shall not assert, however. But I believe the Baptist Society in general are not dissatisfied at the determination. I could tell you a long tale if I had time, but can only tell you that we have twenty-three scholars, eighteen of whom are matriculated. Mrs. Manning joins in love to you, Mr. and Mrs. Hart, etc., with, sir,

Your unworthy brother, and servant in the gospel,

JAMES MANNING.

This vote "to go into the Southern governments," as Mr. Smith terms it in his diary, is happily worded in the following official document, which we copy from the one on file in the College archives:—

By the Honorable Stephen Hopkins, Esquire, Chancellor, and the Reverend James Manning, President of the College, or University, in the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New-England, in America. To the Reverend Hezekiah Smith, of Haverhill, in America. Greeting.

Whereas, the General Assembly of the Colony aforesaid, taking into consideration the many advantages derived to society from educating youth in useful literature, did grant a charter incorporating the persons therein named into a body politic, and empowering them to erect, found and endow a College or University in said Colony: And whereas the said Corporation from the smallness of their funds, have found themselves under a necessity of requesting the generous assistance of the friends of religion and learning without the said Colony: And whereas, the said Corporation at their Annual meeting at Warren, on the 1st Wednesday in Sept. Inst., being well convinced of your affection and regard for the said College or University, and of your integrity and

ability, did unanimously appoint and request you to solicit and receive benefactions in any part of America for the benefit of the said institution. These are therefore, to empower and authorize you, the said Hezekiah Smith, to receive all such charitable donations as shall be made in America, for the erecting, founding, or endowing the said College, or University.

With this official document, duly signed and sealed, Mr. Smith set out on his important mission. His diary begins as follows :

1769, Oct. 1. In the evening preached at Mr. Thomas Osgood's, from Psalm 45: 13.—Mon., 2. Went to Medfield, and lodged the night at Nathan Plimpton's.—Tues., 3. Went to the Rev. Manning's, in Warren.—Wed., 4. Went to Col. Bennet's, in Newport.—Thurs., 5. In the afternoon or evening preached in Mr. Thurston's pulpit from Gen. 45: 4.—Fri., 6. Went to Jonas Beton's, in Groton.—Sat., 7. Went to the Rev. Jonathan Todd's,¹ in East Guilford. Tarried there till Monday.—Sab. 8. Preached two sermons in Mr. Todd's pulpit, in the forenoon from Gen. 45: 4, and in the afternoon from Peter 3: 7. The assembly was much affected, and I can but think and hope that God blessed the discourses to some souls.—Mon., 9.—Went to Mr. Nichols', in Stratford.—Tues., 10. Went to East Chester, to Mr. Butler's.—Wed., 11. Went to New York.—Thurs., 12. Embarked for Charleston on board the sloop Sally, Capt. Peter Schemerhorn, and arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, on the 20th. Went to the Rev. Oliver Hart's and there tarried.

Mr. Smith was absent from the people of his charge a little over eight months. He traveled through South Carolina and Georgia, preached one hundred sermons, and obtained subscriptions to the amount of £3710-17-6 South Carolina currency, of which he collected and paid

¹ One of the leading clergymen of Connecticut. He was graduated at Yale College in 1732. In 1733, he was ordained as Pastor of the Congregational Church in East Guilford, where he remained until his death in 1791. President Stiles pronounced him to be one of the most accomplished linguists of his day.

over to the College Treasurer the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars.¹

At a meeting of the Corporation held on Thurs., Sept. 6, 1770, it was voted:

That the accounts presented by the Rev. Hezekiah Smith, of the donations and subscriptions by him received in the provinces of South Carolina and Georgia, be accepted, and that the Corporation highly approve of his conduct, and return him their hearty thanks for his great and generous services.

Voted, also, That as Mr. Smith was long absent from his people, in the service of the Corporation, and his salary during that time would have amounted to sixty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence, the Corporation would willingly make up the sum to him, but as he generously refuses to receive anything on that account, more than a remission of his subscription of forty dollars to the College, the said subscription is accordingly remitted, and the Corporation gratefully consider the remainder of said sum which he would have received for his salary, as a donation to the institution.

Continuing now the diary:

Arrived at New York, the last day of April, 1770. Found my friends well.—Tues., May 1. In the evening preached in Mr. Gano's pulpit, from Ezekiel 36: 26.—Wed., 2. In New York.—Thurs., 3. Went to the Jerseys.—Fri., 4. Visited my parents.—Sat., 5. Back to York.—Sab., 6. Preached three times in Mr. Gano's pulpit, from Jer. 31: 20, Jer. 3: 22, and Rev. 1: 7.—Mon., 7, Tues., 8, Wed., 9. Among my friends.—Thurs., 10. In the evening preached in Mr. Gano's pulpit, from Ezekiel 47: 8.—Fri., 11. Went to the Jerseys.—Sat., 12. At my brother's.—Sab., 13. Preached three times at Lions-Farms, from Jer. 3: 22, Jer. 31: 20, and Rev. 1: 7.—Mon., 14. At Connecticut-Farms.—Tues., 15. Preached at Short-Hills, from John 15: 10. After service went to my father's.—Thurs., 17. In the evening preached at my father's from John 7: 37.—Fri., 18. At my father's.—Sat., 19. Left there and went to Newark.—Sab., 20. Preached three sermons in the Baptist meeting house in Lions-Farms, two from Mal. 4: 2, and one from Phil. 1: 21.—Mon., 24. Preached at Scotch

¹ An account of Mr. Smith's labors at the South in behalf of the College forms a separate chapter in my quarto "History of Brown University."

Plain-meeting house, from 1 Cor. 9: 24.—Tues., 22. Went to New York.—Wed., 23. In the evening preached in Mr. Gano's pulpit, from Rev. 2: 17.—Thurs., 24. Went to my brother's Jeremiah, in Connecticut-Farms. Tarried there till Sat., when I went to New York.—Sat., 27. Preached three times in Mr. Gano's pulpit, two sermons from Job 23: 3, 4, and one from Rom. 9: 33.—Mon., 28. Set out for Haverhill, from New York. That evening lodged at Mrs. Dehart's, on Long Island.—Tues., 29. Lodged at Mr. Smith's, on the Island.—Wed., 30. Went to Southhold, and preached a sermon at John Sims', from Matt. 22: 42.—Thurs., 31. Went to Sterling. Tarried there that night.—Fri., June 1. Went to the Rev. Mr. Lee's at Oyster Pond. Preached that evening in his meeting house, from 1 Cor. 9: 24.—Sat., 2. Crossed the ferry to New London from Sterling.—Sat., 3. Preached three times in the afternoon; the first time in Mr. Woodbridge's meeting house, from Rom. 5: 1, the second, from Luke 5: 31, in the Poor House, and the third in the Court House, from 1 Cor. 9: 24.—Mon., 4. Went to Providence. Lodged two nights there at Nicholas Brown's.—Tues., 5. In the evening preached in Mr. Winsor's meeting house, from Rev. 1: 7.—Wed., 6. Went to Charlestown, and lodged at Mr. Brown's.—Thurs., 7. Went to Captain White's in Methuen.—Fri., 8. Went home in Haverhill, and found things in quietness. Rejoiced to see my good friends, to whose souls I long to be of service.

The reader who has followed Mr. Smith in his journeyings thus far, cannot fail to see how greatly he enjoyed the work of an evangelist, and how much his pulpit services were in requisition. Wherever he chanced to be, he was called upon to preach, and crowds of people listened with eagerness to his eloquent and truthful utterances. Scarcely had he reached his home and rested from his labors, when he set out on a missionary tour.

Wed., June 13. Went to Deerfield, and preached from Acts 11: 23: "Who when he came and had seen the grace of God, was glad, and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord." After the sermon I examined the Rev. Eliaphlet Smith and a number of his hearers for baptism.—Thurs., 14. I preached in Mr. Smith's meeting house in Deerfield, from Col. 2: 11,

12. After sermon I baptized fourteen persons, whose names are as follows: the Rev. Eliphalet Smith and his wife Nancy, Dea. Wadley Cram and his wife Elizabeth, Samuel Winslow and his wife Jane, James Philbrick and his wife Elizabeth, Jerediah Present, Moses Clough, Wm. Tirrill, Hannah Polsiper, Masy Folsom, and Isaac Bladell of Chester, the rest of Deerfield, who the same day were embodied into a Baptist Church. A good day it was indeed. The goings of the Lord were very evident.

President Manning, in a letter to the Rev. Dr. S. Stennett, of London, under date of June 7, 1770, thus speaks of this event:

To my great satisfaction, I lately received certain information of the conversion to Baptist principles of a young Presbyterian¹ minister, eminent for his piety and success as a preacher. The manner in which this was, by Divine Providence, brought about, is somewhat singular. He was preaching upon John 14: 15, when truth was let into his mind with such vividness, as compelled him to open the nature of the ordinance of baptism so clearly as to convince the church of which he was pastor, that believer's baptism by *immersion only* is a divine institution. In consequence of this, they sent a messenger to me to come and administer the ordinance to both minister and people, the most of whom expect immediately to submit thereto. As they, however, are more than one hundred miles distant from me, and near Mr. Smith, he has engaged to supply my place.

Two days afterwards, Mr. Smith baptized seven persons in Epping, one of whom was Doct. Samuel Shepard, who, in 1771, was ordained as Pastor over the church at Stratham. Mr. Stillman, of Boston, preached the sermon, Mr. Smith gave the charge, and President Manning the right hand of fellowship. These were printed the following year in pamphlet form, for circulation. Doctor Shepard became a very active and highly honored minister of the Baptist denomination. A sketch of his life

¹ Mr. Smith was a Congregationalist. President Manning, who was a native of New Jersey, frequently uses the term Presbyterian in this way.

appears in Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*. He was converted to Baptist sentiments, it seems, by reading Norcott's work on Baptism.¹ He was a man of rare executive ability, having the care, or oversight, of several Baptist churches in the immediate vicinity of his home, which was in Brentwood. He was thus, says a writer in *Cutheart's Cyclopaedia*, a Bishop, in the true sense of the term, without having had Episcopal consecration.

Mon., June 18. Went to New Market, and preached in Mr. Ewers' meeting house, from Ezk. 36: 26, after which I had a conference with their Church about some of their members who wanted to be baptized; but the Church as a Church would not give me any leave to baptize their members.—Tues., 19. At Mr. Ewer's. Heard Mr. Backus preach. Wed., June 20. Went to Stratham. Examined a number for baptism. Preached a sermon from John 7: 37, and then baptized fourteen persons, whose names follow:—* * * A glorious day has this been. May the good cause ever flourish and God be glorified in all his people.—Thurs., 21. Went home, after having baptized 38 persons within seven days and preached seven sermons.—July, Wed., 4. Went home and wrote Certificates for the Society.—Thurs., 5. Catechised the children.

This latter entry frequently appears in Mr. Smith's diary. He was accustomed at stated periods, once a month or oftener, to devote time to this pleasing service. His care in instructing the children of his parish in the simple and fundamental truths of religion, together with his faithfulness in visitations, may account in part for his wonderful success as a pastor.

Mon., 16. In my study.—Tues., 17. Preached at Stephen Merrill's, in Plaistow, from Isa. 55: 1, 2.—Wed., 18. Went to Stratham, and preached a discourse from 1 Pet. 2: 1-6, after which I baptized, etc. After baptism I entered into a public debate upon baptism with Rev.

¹ A copy of this pamphlet is in the Metcalf Collection of Pamphlets in the Library of Brown University.

Joseph Adams,¹ and Rev. Marshall, which debate continued until near sundown. After debate I assisted in constituting a Baptist Church there, consisting of fourteen members.—Thurs., 19. Went to Mr. Hovey's, in Newton, after visiting a number of friends.—Fri., 20. Visited a number of my people; lodged at John Green's.—Sat., 21. Went home and prepared for the Sabbath.—Tues., Aug. 23. Went as far as Byfield, in order to meet Mr. Whitefield, but was disappointed.

Mr. Smith was a great admirer of Whitefield, whom in some respects he imitated. During his recent tour through the South, he had formed his acquaintance, and preached for him at his "Orphan House," in Savannah. Mr. Whitefield was now on his seventh visit to America, having sailed from England in 1769. He died suddenly in Newburyport, Mass., in Sept. 1770, and in accordance with his expressed desire, was buried under the pulpit of the Rev. Jonathan Parsons, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in the place. A monument was erected to his memory.

I may here introduce in the language of another,² an occurrence which has often been related, without being accredited to the true source. It took place about this period. During one of Mr. Smith's missionary tours, which are so fully recorded in his diary, he arrived, as tradition has it, weary at a public house, where he sought lodgings for the night. "A gathering crowd soon made him acquainted with the fact that a ball was to take place in the house that evening. Intending soon to seek the retirement of his room, he paid no attention to the gay party near him, but was warming himself by the parlor fireside, in preparation for repose, when, to his surprise,

¹ Mr. Adams was Pastor of the Congregational Church, in Stratham, having been ordained in 1766.

² The Rev. Dr. A. P. Hill. *Sketches of the Life and Character of Rev. Hoseah Smith, D. D. Christian Watchman, 1835.*

he was waited upon by a deputation, with the request that he should join in the mirth of the evening. He politely declined; but they urged his acceptance. Again he begged to be excused, and again they insisted on having his company. At length, overcome by their entreaties, he accompanied them to the hall, where the assembly was waiting to commence the dance. His appearance being that of a gentleman, the company were desirous of showing him some marked respect; and united in inviting him to take the most prominent part in the performance. Finding himself, involuntarily, in this predicament, he resolved to make the best of it, and turn the whole affair, if possible, to some moral benefit. So, after having acknowledged in his own easy and pleasant manner, the attention which had been shown him, he remarked that he had always made it a principle, through life, never to engage in any employment, without having first asked the blessing of God; and he presumed that the courtesy of the company would be farther extended to him, while he engaged in this imperative act of duty. Upon this, he immediately commenced a prayer. The singular turn which was thus given to the anticipated amusement of the evening produced a remarkable effect. The commanding tones of his voice; his impressive style of supplicatory address; the fervor of his prayer, and the solemn allusions made in it, riveted first upon himself every eye, and then upon his sentiments every heart, so that, before he closed, many were dissolved in tears. Finding, as he ended, the way quite prepared, he began a close and pathetic address to the consciences of his audience, and continued it some length of time. The result was most happy. Suffice it to say, there was no music or dance there that evening. The company broke up with pensive thoughts. Many, who, to that hour, had

been immersed in the gay and dissipating pleasures of this life, now resolved to break off their sins by righteousness, and seek a more solid and substantial good. A work of grace, of uncommon interest, commenced in the neighborhood, and on the return of Mr. Smith in the following year to that region, he had the pleasure of receiving the blessings of many of this same party, who had been raised, through his instrumentality, to a new life, and who were exhibiting in their deportment, the genuine virtues of the Christian character."

Wed., Sept. 5, 1770. Attended the Commencement¹ in Providence.—Thurs., 6. Sat with the Corporation.—Fri., 7. Went to Newport, and preached that evening at Mr. Thurston's meeting house from Solomon's Song, 1: 7.—Sat., 8. Preached in Mr. Maxon's meeting house, from James 1: 25.—Sabb., 9. Preached two sermons at Warren.—Mon., 10. Preached in Providence, from 1 Cor. 3: 16.—Tues., 11. Wed., 12. Met in Association at Bellingham, when I was chosen

¹ This was the first Commencement held in Providence. It was held in Mr. Snow's meeting house on the west side of the River, then the largest house in town. Here all subsequent Commencements were held, until 1776, when the new meeting house of the Baptist Church was ready for use. The following extract from a letter from President Manning to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Stennett, of London, dated Providence, June 7, 1770, may be found interesting in this connection, giving as it does particulars relating to the College edifice then in process of erection, and also referring to Mr. Smith's efforts in South Carolina and Georgia:

"It was resolved, after long deliberation, to place the college edifice in the town of Providence in this Colony, as most conducive to the ends of its institution. This, however, has been attended with considerable difficulty; but I forbear to trouble you with the recital of our little affairs. The foundation of the college is now laid, and the building proceeds faster than could have been expected, its magnitude considered, which is one hundred and fifty by forty-six feet, with a projection in the middle, of ten feet on each side, for the public rooms. It is to be four stories high, with an entry of twelve feet through the middle of each, and is to be built of brick. It will contain fifty-six rooms in all. The town of Providence itself has nearly provided for the building, as they have raised by subscription near £1,000, lawful money, at six shillings per dollar. The beneficence of a few Baptists in this place, their fortunes considered, is almost unparalleled. I should rejoice to find many elsewhere like-minded. We should then see the College properly endowed, as well as founded. This we must expect from abroad. Added to the sum collected by Mr. Edwards in Europe, our Brother Hemokiah Smith, of

Agent for the Baptists to go to England with a petition to our King to seek redress from oppression in matters of religion.

At this meeting Mr. Smith presided as Moderator, and Mr. Stillman acted as Clerk, after having preached the Introductory Sermon. The records, which exist only in manuscript, not having yet been printed, read as follows in reference to the matter of "oppression" and "redress."

A committee was chosen to seek redress of all grievances for the Baptists, consisting of Rev. Samuel Stillman, Rev. Hezekiah Smith, Rev. John Davis, Rev. Isaac Backus, Rev. Noah Alden, Philip Free-

Haverhill, has collected and obtained subscriptions in South Carolina and Georgia, from whence he has just returned, to the amount of about £500 sterling."

The following interesting account of this Second Commencement of the College is taken from the *Providence Gazette*:

"On Wednesday was celebrated here the Second Commencement in Rhode Island College. The parties concerned met at the court house, about ten o'clock, from whence they proceeded to the Rev. Joseph Snow's meeting house, in the following order: First the grammar scholars; then the under classes, the candidates for degrees, the Bachelors, the Trustees of the college, the Fellows, the Chancellor, the Governor of the Colony, and, lastly, the President. When they were seated, the President introduced the business of the day by prayer; then followed the salutatory oration in Latin, by Mr. Dennis, and a forensic dispute, with which ended the exercises of the forenoon.

"Those of the afternoon began with an intermediate oration on Catholicism, pronounced by Mr. Foster; then followed a syllogistic disputation in Latin, wherein Mr. Foster was respondent, and Messieurs Nash, Read, and Dennis, opponents. After this, the degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on Messieurs John Dennis, Theodore Foster, Samuel Nash, and Seth Read; and the degree of Master on the Rev. Isaac Eaton, Messieurs William Bowen, Benjamin West, David Williams, Joseph Brown, and Abel Evans; also on the Rev. Messieurs Hugh Evans, Daniel Turner, Samuel James, Benjamin Beddome, Benjamin Wallin, John Reynolds, and Isaac Woodman. To which succeeded a valedictory oration by Mr. Read, and then a charge to the graduates.

"The business of the day being concluded, and before the assembly broke up, a piece from Homer was pronounced by Master Billy Edwards, one of the grammar school boys, not nine years old. This, as well as the other performances, gained applause from a polite and crowded audience, and afforded pleasure to the friends of the institution. But what greatly added to their satisfaction, was an opportunity of observing the forwardness of the college edifice, the first stone of which was laid not longer since than the latter end of May last, and 'tis expected the roof will be on next month. It is a neat brick building, one hundred and fifty feet by forty-six, four stories high, with a projection in the middle of ten feet on

man, Philip Freeman, Jr., Nathan Plimpton, and Richard Gridley.¹ Rev. Hezekiah Smith was chosen Agent to the Court of Great Britain,² to act in conjunction with Rev. Dr. Samuel Stennett, Rev. Benjamin Wallin, and Thomas Llewelyn, LL.D., of London.

Agreed to send to the Swanzy and Philadelphia Associations, to request them to assist us by money and advice.

The following extract from the Circular Letter for this year, written by President Manning, may be interesting in this connection :

each side, containing an area of sixty-three feet by thirty, for a hall and other public use. The building will accommodate upwards of a hundred students. Its situation is exceedingly pleasant and healthy, being on a summit of a hill, the ascent easy and gradual, commanding an extensive prospect of hills, dales, plains, woods, water, islands, etc. *Who hath despised the day of all things?*"

¹ This Committee, which was continued from year to year, was known as the Standing Committee of the Baptists for New England. In 1775, it consisted, as appears from the printed minutes of the Association, of Rev. Messrs. Stillman and Skillman, and Brethren Nathan Plimpton, Philip Freeman, and Philip Freeman, Jr., of Boston; the Rev. Mr. Smith, of Haverhill; the Rev. Mr. Alden, of Bellingham; and Brethren Asaph Fletcher and Richard Gridley. In 1777, Bro. James Morse, of Medfield, was added to the Committee.

² In regard to this matter, President Manning thus writes to Dr. Stennett, under date of June 5, 1771 :

"But I cease to trouble you with my unprofitable complaints, and proceed to give you some short account of the dispute between Baptists and Congregationalists in the provinces of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, and Connecticut; in the latter of which, I am told, some of our brethren are now in jail for ministerial rates, and in the other two many are forcibly despoiled of their property for the same purpose. The Congregationalists I believe, are determined, where they have the power, to use it against us to prevent our growth; for no effectual remedy can yet be obtained, though it has been carefully and industriously sought. They are afraid, if they relax the secular arm, their tenets have not merit enough and a sufficient foundation to stand. This has been so plainly hinted by some of the committees of the General Court, upon treating with our people, that I think it cannot be deemed a breach of charity to think thus of them. However, I will not pretend to justify everything which has been said and done by Baptists during this controversy. I fear there has been too great warmth in some publications; yet it is certain that there has been great provocation to write and speak some bitter things. However, I am far from believing that the cause of God requires acrimony in defending it, especially as the great Example of his people 'reviled not again when he was reviled.' Upon the whole, it is very uncertain what will be the issue of the matter, whether we must address the Throne of our Sovereign for relief, or not. The contention has been improved as an argument against sending scholars from that denomination to our college. How long this will continue I know not; but at present the clergy use all their endeavors to this purpose."

We have to inform you, dearly beloved, that some of our churches are sorely oppressed on account of religion. Their enemies continue to triumph over them; and as repeated applications have been made to the Court of Justice, and to the General Courts, for redress of such grievances, but as yet have been neglected, it is now become necessary to carry the affair to England, in order to lay it before the king. It is, therefore, warmly recommended to you to endeavor to collect money to defray the expense which will arise from such a proceeding. Should you not contribute in this matter, some of our brethren must unavoidably be ruined as to this world; especially our brethren at Ashfield,¹ some of whose lands have been taken from them, and sold for a trifle. Brethren, make the case your own, and then do as you would be done by.

The three gentlemen with whom Mr. Smith was to act "in conjunction," and who rendered in this matter most efficient service,² as the published correspondence of

¹ For a full account of Baptist oppressions in Ashfield, see Backus' "History," and "The Life and times of Backus," by Hovey.

² At a meeting of the Association held in 1773, a letter was read from London, "wherein," says the minutes, "we are informed, that the much esteemed gentlemen whom we had made choice of to take the charge of our affairs there, have accepted of the same, and will cheerfully unite in every measure that may from time to time be thought right and prudent, to promote the cause of truth and liberty in general, and that of our denomination in particular." How far this committee succeeded in abling the cause of truth, and in removing oppression, especially in the case of Ashfield, may be seen from the following, taken from "Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay," vol. 4, page 1043. "Wednesday, May 22, 1771. At a meeting of His Majesty's Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. Present, Mr. Elliot, Mr. Fitzherbert, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Whately. Read a memorial of Dr. Stennett, praying their Lordships to recommend to His Majesty to disallow an Act passed in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in June 1767, by which the Antipedobaptists and Quakers are compelled to pay to the support of a minister of a different persuasion. Their Lordships thereupon read and considered the said Act, and it was ordered that the draught of a representation to His Majesty should be prepared, proposing that it may be disallowed."

"At the Court of St. James, the 31st day of July, 1771. Present. The king's Most Excellent Majesty in Council. Whereas the Great or General Court or Assembly of His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, did in June, 1768, pass an Act which hath been transmitted, entitled as follows, viz. An Act in addition to an Act entitled an Act for erecting the New Plantation called Hunts Town in the County of Hampshire into a town by the name of Ashfield:

"Which act together with a representation from the Lords' Commissioners for Trade and Plantations thereupon having been referred to the consideration of a

President Manning shows, were men of influence and distinction. Dr. Stennett was probably the most prominent minister of the Baptist denomination in England. The philanthropist, John Howard, whom Burke has so highly eulogized, was one of his constant hearers. George III., it is said, was on terms of intimacy with him, frequently calling at his house on Muswell Hill. The Rev. Samuel Davies, to whom I have already alluded as the eloquent preacher, and the President of Princeton College, said of him while in England soliciting funds for Nassau Hall: "He is a judicious, prudent, and candid gentleman, and has more influence in Court, than any dissenting minister in London." Dr. Llewelyn was a Cambro-British scholar, whom Manning afterwards solicited to endow Rhode Island College and give it his name. The war of the Revolution interrupted all plans of this kind; otherwise Brown University might now be known as "Llewelyn College." He died in 1783, bequeathing to Bristol Academy his large and valuable library. Mr. Wallin was a Baptist minister, also of wealth and repute.

Had Mr. Smith gone to London as the Agent of the Association, he would without doubt have had a cordial reception, through the efforts and personal influence of so

Committee of the Lords of His Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council for Plantation Affairs. The said Lords of the Committee did this day report as their opinion to His Majesty that the said Act ought to be disallowed. His Majesty taking the same into consideration was pleased with the advice of His Privy Council to declare his disallowance of the said Act; and to order that the said Act be and it is hereby disallowed and rejected—Whereof the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Commander in Chief of His Majesty's said Province of the Massachusetts Bay for the time being, and all others whom it may concern are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly."

The Rev. Dr. John Ryland, writing to President Manning, in 1773, says: "I suppose you know that it was Dr. Stennett who procured an order from Government to put a stop to the oppression of the Baptists near Boston."—"Life and Times of Manning," page 217.

able and judicious a committee. The multiplied cares and increasing responsibilities of Mr. Smith, obliged him eventually to decline a service which required so much time and labor; and at the meeting of the Association in 1771, the Rev. John Davis was appointed in his place. He was succeeded by the Rev. Isaac Backus, whose services and sacrifices in behalf of religious liberty are faithfully portrayed in Dr. Hovey's admirable memoir of his "Life and Times."

Sat., Sept. 28. Went to Stratham.—Sab., 29. Preached at Dea. John Thurston's in the forenoon, from John 10: 11. In the afternoon, by reason of the number of the people, I was obliged to preach out doors, under an oak tree, where I administered the Sacrament. I preached from Rev. 1: 5.—Mon., Sept. 30. Went to Boston, in order to meet a Committee of Congregational members nominated to confer with the Baptists concerning their oppressions; but we found only Dr. Elliott and Mr. Pemberton together, and they had no power to act as a committee. So we conversed about our oppressions, etc.—Mon., Oct. 8. In my study.—Tues., 9. Went to Exeter. Preached a sermon out doors from Mark 16: 16, and then baptized Joseph Sanborn, of Epping, a Congregational Preacher, Stephen Butler, of Brentwood, Growth Palmer, of Nottingham, Nathaniel Cross, of Epping, Hannah Russell, of Exeter, and Sarah Holland, of Brentwood. It was judged that 2000 people were at the water side to see the ordinance administered, it being the first time that it ever was administered in that place.—Mon., Oct. 15. Went to Boston upon the business of the Baptists.—Tues., 16. Attended upon the Court, until I found that the Baptist business would not be attended to till Thursday, upon which Mr. John Davis and I went to Acton. He preached in the afternoon, and I preached in the evening from John 6: 37. * * *—Thurs., 18. Went to Cambridge, and met the Committee appointed by the General Court to consider the grievances of the Baptists.—Fri., 19. Met the Committee again.—Tues., Oct. 23. Went to Boston in order to attend the General Court.—Wed., 24. Attended the General Court to get a law passed to exempt all Baptists from all oppression.—Thurs., 25. Returned to Haverhill.—Thurs., Nov. 1. Visited in the forenoon, and catechised the children in the afternoon.—Mon., Nov. 19. Visited the sick and returned home, it being the day the Church settled with me.

The following is the petition presented to the "General Court" at this time, which may be found in the fourth volume of "Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay," page 1038:—

To his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, the honorable his Majesty's Council, and the honorable House of Representatives in General Court assembled.—

The petition of the Baptist Committee of Grievances, acting in the name and by the appointment of the Baptist Churches, met in Association in Bellingham, in this Province, the 11th, 12th, and 13th of September last, humbly sheweth,

That although the Baptists have been repeatedly disappointed in their addresses to the General Court, and have not obtained that relief from their distresses which we humbly conceive all our people are entitled to as men, and Christians, and subjects of a free government, yet, very unwilling to leave any means untried, and hoping all things from this Court, we, the Committee aforesaid, with great earnestness and seriousness do recommend ourselves to you gentlemen, whom we consider as the guardians of our rights and privileges, as well religious as civil, the protectors of the injured, the fathers of our common country;—And we beg leave to say that we are encouraged in this our address, from the consideration of the rights of mankind having been so well defined in the votes of this Honorable House, by which we are taught to think, "That no taxation can be equitable where such restraint is laid upon the taxed, as takes from him the liberty of giving his own money freely."—This being true, permit us to ask—With what equity is our property taken from us, not only without our consent, but violently, contrary to our will, and for such purposes as we cannot, in faithfulness to that stewardship with which God hath entrusted us, favor?—Permit us therefore to lay before this Honorable Court the grievances of which we complain and pray your friendly as well as legislative interposition; that our Brethren may be saved from threatening ruin, who have suffered much in their persons and estates, to the great disquietude of their minds, and distress of their small and chargeable families.

These evils have arisen from some of the laws of this Province, which are ecclesiastical in their nature, and bear hard upon us, and we think deprive us of a Charter privilege, especially one law, made in favor of the proprietors of the town of Ashfield, in the County of

Hampshire, which is contrary to, and in respect to that town, supercedes all acts of, the General Court heretofore enacted, and declared to be in favor of Baptists. In consequence of which law, and by a power granted in the same to the proprietors of Ashfield aforesaid, three hundred and ninety-eight acres of our lands have been sold to build, and remove, and repair when moved, a meeting house in which we have no part, though our money helped to build it, and to settle a minister whom we cannot hear. The lands were valued at £363 lawful money, and were sold for £19, 3s. lawful money, so that our loss is £344. Part of the lands aforesaid belonged to the Rev. Ebenezer Smith, a regularly ordained Baptist minister, who, together with his father and others their brethren, in the last Indian war, built at their own expense a fort and were a Frontier;—And this they did for two years without any help from any quarter, for which, we beg leave to say, they deserve at least the common privilege of the subjects of the Crown of England. Part of said lands had been laid out for a burying place, and so they have taken from us our dead. They have also sold a dwelling house, and orchard, and pulled up our apple trees, and thrown down our fences, and made our fields waste places. Permit us further to add, that the Act of the General Court made with design to favor us, and for the same purpose hath been renewed from time to time, is attended with such difficulties as render it ineffectual in many instances, and by no means sufficient to answer the good purposes for which, we are willing to believe, the Honorable Court intended it. The difficulties arising from this quarter of which we complain we are ready to lay before the House whenever it shall please them to call upon us.

We must beg your indulgence while we recite one thing more, which we deem hard; and that is, a proviso in the above mentioned law, or Act of the General Court, by which no Baptist can avail himself even of that law in new settled towns, and we are thereby virtually prevented from settling in such new towns.

Should we go through with an enumeration of all our grievances, we must take up too much of the time of this Honorable Court, which we are unwilling to do. We therefore pray the General Court to relieve us in the following instances, viz.:

1st. To repeal a law entitled "An Act in addition to an Act, entitled an Act for erecting the New Plantation called Huntstown, in the County of Hampshire, into a town by the name of Ashfield," and restore to the Baptists in said town, the lands which have been taken from them to support the minister settled by law, and give them damages for the many and great injuries they have been made to suffer.

2dly. To enable our brethren in different parts of the Province to recover damages for the losses they have been made to sustain on a religious account.

3dly. To grant perpetual exemption to all Baptists and their Congregations from all ministerial rates whatsoever, according to the full intent and meaning of the Charter of the Province; that we all may enjoy full liberty of conscience, as others His Majesty's subjects, in this Province. And also to disannul all such rates laid heretofore on any of our people in this Government. And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

Signed in behalf of the Committee,

SAMUEL STILLMAN,
HEZEKIAH SMITH,
JOHN DAVIS.

Mr. Smith had now reached his thirty-fifth year, without, so far at least as his diary shows, having taken any steps looking to matrimony. His mind had been engrossed with other cares and thoughts. Under date of Nov. 20th, we have the following suggestive entry:—"I went to see Miss Hephzibah Kimball, of Boxford, for the first time." His visits to her are henceforth recorded from week to week, until June following, when they were married. Miss Kimball was the daughter of Mrs. Ensign Tyler, whose husband Mr. Smith calls in his diary "Father Tyler."¹ She was a young woman who possessed, in addition to wealth, superior personal attractions, and strength of character and mind. Hence, she had no lack of suitors for her hand. Although not a member of the church, and a stranger to experimental religion, she had the good sense to discern in her accepted lover one whom she could confide in and respect, and to

¹ Dr. Smith records in his diary, under date of Oct. 9, 1800, the death of "Gideon Tyler, father-in-law to his wife, aged eighty-seven." He was called "Ensign" as a commissioned officer in a military company, appointed to carry the flag. This office, says Webster, is now rarely known in the United States; and never in the regular service, the flag being carried by the color-sergeant.

whom she could safely entrust her destinies. The result fully justified the wisdom of her choice. The following are a few entries respecting this most important event in their lives:—

Thurs., June 7, 1771. Went to Ensign Tyler's in Boxford; from there waited upon Miss Hephzibah to Haverhill; and from there to Thos. Osgood's in Andover, where I lodged.—Tues., 11. Went to Boston and stayed at Widow Harris'; assisted in getting Miss Hephzibah Kimball's household goods on board of Capt. Mullikin.—Mon., 17. Went to Boxford to see Miss Hephzibah Kimball.—Tues., 18. Preached at Stephen Wheeler's at North Salem, from 1 Pet. 2: 11. That evening went to see Miss Hephzy Kimball and stayed with her till Thursday.—Thurs., 20, and Fri., 21. Went home and assisted in putting up the household stuff which came the Monday before.—Thurs., June 27. Went to Boxford, and was married to Miss Hephzibah Kimball, by Mr. Holyoke.¹—Fri., 28, Sat., 29. At Boxford with my wife.—Sab., 30. Preached two sermons in Mr. Cushing's² meeting house in Boxford, from Ps. 23: 1.—Mon., July 1, to Thurs., 4. Visiting with my wife her acquaintance and relations.—Fri., 5. Went home.—Mon., 8. Visited the sick and preached a sermon at Ensign Mowser's, from 1 Peter 5: 7. After service went to my wife at Father Tyler's.—Tues., 9. Went home.—Thurs., 11. Moved my wife home.

Thus commenced relations which continued to be a source of unfailling happiness. "Hephzibah" proved to be an excellent wife and companion, whom her children honored and loved. She survived her husband many years, dying on the 9th of December, 1824. They were blessed with a numerous offspring, of whom three sons and a daughter arrived at maturity. Hezekiah, the oldest, became a farmer, and died at Northumberland, New Hampshire; Jonathan died at the house of his

¹ The Rev. Eliazr Holyoke, Pastor of the First Congregational Church, in Boxford, from 1759 to 1798.

² The Rev. John Cushing, Pastor of the Second Congregational Church from 1736 to 1772.

daughter, wife of the Rev. Dr. S. F. Smith, Newton, Mass., October 9, 1843, at the age of 68; William was at one time engaged in marine pursuits. He died in the city of New York; Rebecca, the youngest, became the wife of the late Thos. Kendall, of Boston, for many years a highly respected deacon of Dr. Sharp's Church. A daughter of Mrs. Kendall, to whom I have referred in my introduction, the widow of the late Rev. Dr. R. A. Fyfe, has recently died in Woodstock, Canada.

An extract from a letter from the Rev. Francis Pelot, of South Carolina, dated April 8th, 1772, may fitly close this part of my subject: "I again congratulate you on your nuptials and am glad you are so well suited. I pray the Lord to espouse your lady to himself, and then you will be happy indeed. Truly the want of a changed heart makes a chasm in the most happy marriages; but that is the gift of God, which no doubt you earnestly pray for. Her being so earnestly sought after by other ministers is a sign that she must be a sedate, serious person."

Wed., Aug. 28, 1771. Went to Nicholas Brown's, in Providence. Lodged two nights there.—Fri., 30. Went to Job Bennet's in Newport where we¹ stayed till Monday.—Sat., 31. Preached for Mr. Maxon from John 18: 36 and in the evening from John 13: 11 in Mr. Thurston's meeting house.—Sat., Sept. 1. Preached for Mr. Thurston, from Isa. 44: 22.—Mon., 2. Went to Warren, and preached that evening in Mr. Thompson's pulpit, from 2 Cor. 5: 10.—Tues., 3. Went to Nicholas Brown's in Providence.—Wed., 4. Attended Commencement.—Thurs. 5. Met with the Corporation. Preached in the evening, from Rom. 3: 25.—Fri., 6, Sat., 7. At Providence. Preached in the forenoon at Mr. Snow's meeting house, from 2 Cor. 5: 19 and in the afternoon at Mr. Manning's meeting house, from Ps. 19: 14.—Mon.,

¹ His wife probably accompanied him. He was accustomed to ride in his chaise when he attended the meetings of Commencement and the Association.

Sept. 9. Set out for Sutton. Got that night to Mr. Dodges'. Preached in the evening at Mr. Waters from 2 Cor. 5: 19.—Tues., 10. Attended the Association.—Wed., 11. Preached at Mr. Cilley's, from 1 Peter 2: 6; and Thurs., 12, attended the Association likewise.—Fri., 13. Went to Mr. White's in Acton.—Sat., 14. Preached at Mr. White's in Acton from Mark 5: 19.—Sab., 15. Preached two sermons from Gal. 5: 1, and John 12: 46. Between meetings baptized four persons, Thos. Barnes, Rachel Langley, and Eliza Burdill, all of Chelmsford, and May White of Acton.—Mon., 16. Went to Ensign Tyler's of Boxford.—Tues., 17. Went home.—Mon., Dec. 23. Went to Brentwood, and preached at John White's from Hos. 6: 3.—Tues., 24. Preached in the new meeting house in Brentwood, from Acts 10: 33. After sermon I baptized Stephen Sleeper, of Popland, a Deacon of the Separate Church in Brentwood, Benj. Sanborn of Newmarket, John Chapan, of Epping, Jer. Ward, of Kingstown, Orlando Carter and his wife Margaret, of Brentwood, Easter Sanborn, of Epping, Widow Ellis Fowl, of Popland.—Wed., Jan., 8, 1772. Went to attend the ordination of Mr. Adams' in the West Parish, but the house was so full before I got there that I could not get in; upon which I went home into my study.—Mon., Jan. 20. Began a journey to Gorham. Went that day to Nehemiah Gilman's in Exeter.—Tues., 21. Went to Dea. Knight's in Berwick.—Wed., 22. Went to Dea. Wooley's in Freetown on Soco River. Preached that evening from 2 Sam. 18: 28 and the next day at the Stone House from Gen. 1: 2 in the forenoon, and in the afternoon went to Capt. Lanes on Narraganset and preached that evening from John 40: 31. The next day, I preached again in the forenoon from Gal. 3: 9 and in the afternoon went to Hart Williams in Gorham.—Sat., 25. Had a church meeting and settled the differences which had long subsisted among them. The church voted that their receiving Mr. Dawson and part of them ordaining him was irregular and they disapproved their conduct.—Sab., 26. Preached two sermons from Rom. 3: 25 and then administered the sacrament of the Supper to them.—Mon., 27. Went to North Yarmouth. Preached that evening at Briant Morton's from John 1: 23.—Tues., 28. Preached at Mr. Davis' from Ps. 139: 7, and in the evening preached at Mr. Merrill's, from Isa. 28: 16, notwithstanding Mr. Gilman, their minister, publicly warned them against hearing me

¹ The Rev. Phineas Adams, who received a call by "a great majority," although several were strongly opposed to his settlement. He continued with the parish until his death, in 1801. This is the church, it will be remembered, where Mr. Smith preached on his first coming to Haverhill.

after the sermon at Mr. Davis'.—Wed., 29. Went to Falmouth¹ and preached that afternoon at Mr. Burnam's, from Rom. 5: 2.—Thurs., 30. Preached in the evening from Zech. 6: 11.—Fri., 31. Went to Mr. Littlefield's in Hollis.—Sat., Feb. 1. Went to Mr. Emery's in Berwick.—Sab., 2. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house in Berwick, from Heb. 9: 15, and Rev. 22: 1, and in the evening at Dea. Knight's, from Rev. 22: 2.—Mon., 3. Went to Philips Town, and preached two sermons, from Rom. 3: 25, and 10: 4.—Tues., 4. Preached again from 1 Peter 2: 4, and then went to Berwick, and preached that evening at Mr. Hambleton's, from Rev. 20: 12.—Wed., 5. Went to Nehemiah Gilman's in Exeter.—Thurs., 6. Went home.

Mon., Feb. 10. Went to Boxford, and was there most of the time till Thursday evening, measuring and disposing of the land which my wife owned there, and drawing writings.—Thurs., March 5. It was the Provincial Fast. I preached two sermons from Zech. 8: 19.

Under date of Sab., March 15, 1772, he records the birth of his first son Hezekiah, to whom reference will be made in a subsequent chapter, as a student at Rhode Island College. President Manning, in a letter written a few months later, thus playfully alludes to the child:—
“Now, therefore, as I am tied to college, pray take Mrs. Smith, and the heir apparent, and the new chaise, and come and take your station for a week or two on the hill of Providence, where I will insure you excellent good water, the best my house affords, and our good company.”

Wed., April 6. Waited upon the Governor and some of the Representatives to see if they would confirm our former certificates, which were defective. I met with no encouragement, and so did not present the petition to the General Assembly.—Thurs., May 7. Went to Brentwood. Heard Dr. Shepard preach, and then I baptized three persons, and assisted in constituting a Baptist Church in Brentwood consisting of thirteen members.—Fri., July 10. Went at Mr. Williams' request to Wrentham² to hear his scholars examined and

¹ Portland was connected with Falmouth until 1786, and commonly went by the name of Falmouth Neck.

² The Rev. Wm. Williams, D. D., a graduate of Hopewell Academy, New Jersey,

pronounce their orations.—Mon., Aug. 31. Set out for my journey to New Jersey. Got the first night to Ames' in Dedham.—Tues., Sept. 1. Got to my good friend's Nicholas Brown's in Providence, where I stayed till the Monday following. Attended the Commencement on Wed.—Thurs. Met with the Corporation of the College.—Fri., 4, and Sat., 5. Among my friends.—Sat., 6. Preached in the forenoon in Mr. Manning's meeting house in Providence, from Prov. 1: 29, and in the afternoon from Luke 16: 31, in Mr. Snow's meeting house, and in the evening at the Mills in the Baptist meeting house there, from Phil. 1: 21, which is about 11 miles from Providence.—Mon., 7. Set out from Nath. Green's, in Coventry, where I lodged, and got that day to Obadiah Stark's in Colchester, where we lodged, viz., David Howell¹ and myself, who is going with me to the Jerseys.—Tues., 8. Went through Haddam, Durham, and to Wallingford, where we lodged at Mr. Johnson's, the tavern keeper.—Wed., 9. Attended Commencement in New Haven, when and where we had Master's degrees conferred upon us by President Daggett.—Tues., Sept. 29. Set out for Phila. Went that day to Widow Stout's in Hopewell.—Wed., 30. In the forenoon I attended the Commencement at Princeton, and in the afternoon I preached at Hopewell, from John 10: 14.

March 13, Sat., 1773. Attended the funeral of Esq. White's wife,²

and a member of the first graduating class of the College, to which reference has been made in another part of this chapter. In 1771, he was baptized by his classmate, Mr. Thompson, and received into the Warren Church. He afterwards removed to Wrentham, where he opened an academy, which soon attained to high distinction among the literary institutions of that day. On the 3d of July, 1776, he was publicly ordained as Pastor of the Baptist Church in Wrentham, an office which he held for nearly half a century. From 1789 to 1816 he was a Fellow of Brown University.

¹ Hon. Judge Howell, LL.D. He was a native of New Jersey, a graduate of Princeton College, and the intimate friend and associate of President Manning. In 1776, he was appointed a Tutor in the College, and, in 1783, a Professor, continuing to give instruction in different departments until 1825. For fifty-one years he was a member of the Board of Fellows. On several occasions after President Manning's decease, he presided at the College Commencements. Under the Confederation he was a member of Congress, and he subsequently filled with distinguished ability various high offices. He was a man of enormous physical development, weighing, it is said, upwards of three hundred pounds. President Manning was not much his inferior in this respect.

² She was a daughter of the Rev. Richard Brown, of Reading, Mass. Dr. Langdon, to whom Mr. Smith refers, was Pastor of the North Parish Congregational Church, in Portsmouth, from 1747 until 1774, when he became President of Harvard College. This office he held six years, when he resigned, and in 1781 became Pastor of the Church at Hampton Falls. He was a man of learning and an excellent

who died on Tues. night between 11 and 12 o'clock. Dr. Langdon of Portsmouth attended the funeral, whose wife was Mrs. White's sister. Notwithstanding the relation to the deceased he declined preaching in my pulpit, though the Esquire and all his family attended my meeting, and had with his wife attended it for some years. He preached for Mr. Barnard both parts of the day, as I understood. I mention this to show how rigid the Congregationalists were, and how stiff in their own way.—Fri., July 9. Catechised the children, and heard Mr. Gano of New York preach a sermon in my meeting house.

Sat., Aug. 15. Preached two sermons from 1 Kings 19: 11, 12. The reason of my preaching from this text was, the hurricane the Saturday before, in which I suffered a considerable loss, having had my corn, fence, and orchard blown and torn down. The loss cannot be less than £100 Old Tenor, or £10 Sterling.—Mon., 16, Tues., 17, Wed., 18. Busy with a number of men in mending my fence. Setting up some of my apple trees, which were blown down in the hurricane the Saturday before.—Fri., 20. Several of my people assisted me in cutting up and carrying home my apple trees which were blown down.

In this connection mention may be made of Mr. Smith as a tiller of the soil. His journal refers to stock, planting, reaping, haying, gathering apples, making cider, laying stone walls, setting out trees, building houses, barns, stores, and the like. He and his wife together owned land in various sections, the cultivation of which secured a support for himself and family in the trying times, when money was scarce and values were depreciated. In more prosperous times, towards the close of life, he was thus enabled to live in comparative comfort and ease, and to make liberal contributions to the cause of Christian benevolence. In the official list of householders in Haverhill

preacher. It is a sad commentary on the times, when such a man under such circumstances refused to preach in a Baptist pulpit.

¹ A full account of this fearful tornado, which spread havoc before it for a mile in width, destroying one hundred and fifty buildings and doing immense damage is given in Chase's "History of Haverhill," under the date of August 1. It will be noticed that a pound old tenor, was only equal at this date to two shillings sterling.

for 1798, his name appears as the owner of four dwelling-houses, which he rented, besides the one which he occupied. Where once was the "orchard" to which his journal refers, are now houses and streets, a Roman Catholic Church, and a burial ground.

Mon., Aug. 30, 1773. Set out for Providence, in Rhode Island Government. Got there on Tuesday. John Duncann went with me.—Wed., Sept. 1. Attended the Commencement. Five took their degrees. I preached a sermon in the evening from Titus 2: 14.—Thurs., 2. Met with the Corporation of Rhode Island College.—Fri., 3. Sat., 4. In Providence.—Sab., 5. Preached a sermon in the Baptist meeting house, from Luke 4: 18, and in the afternoon at Mr. Snow's meeting house, from 1 John 3: 2. It was a funeral discourse.—Mon., 6. Went to Attleborough.—Tues., 7. Went to Medfield and met in Association, when it was determined by a great majority not to carry in any more certificates.

Backus, in his Church history, thus states this matter of "Certificates," to which the diary refers:—

In September, 1772, the author was chosen an agent of the Baptist Churches in Mr. Davis' room; and the following events took place among them. Though their Church in Chelmsford had given in Certificates according to law, yet they were all taxed to parish teachers; and in a cold season, Jan. 26, 1773, three of their Society were imprisoned therefor at Concord, one of whom was eighty-two years old; and they commenced a suit in law for recompense; but their cases were long delayed. In Bellingham equal liberty was enjoyed, because there was none but a Baptist minister in the town; but a number of his hearers who lived in Mendon were so much oppressed with taxes to other ministers, that in the three preceding years they estimated their damages on that account at near fifty pounds. And these and other things being laid before the Baptist Committee, May 5, they advised their agent to write to all the Churches, to consider whether it was not their duty to refuse to give any more certificates to the power that oppressed them, and to bring in their conclusions upon it to their next Association.

The Association met in Medfield on the 7th of Septem-

ber, and continued in session three days. Ebenezer Hinds, of Middleborough, was chosen Moderator, and William Williams, of Wrentham, Clerk. Eighteen churches were represented by pastors and delegates. The debates upon the great questions of the day must have been full and spirited, although the meagre printed minutes of four duodecimo pages contain no allusion thereto. "It was determined," says Smith, "by a great majority not to carry in any more Certificates," for the following reasons, as stated by Backus:

1. Because it implies an acknowledgment that civil rulers have a right to set up one religious sect above another, which they have not.
2. Because they are not representatives in religious matters, and therefore have no right to impose religious taxes.
3. Because such a practice emboldens the actors therein to assume God's prerogative, and to judge the hearts of others.
4. Because the Church is presented as a chaste virgin to Christ; and to place her trust and love upon any others for temporal support is playing the harlot, and so the way to destroy all religion. *Hos. 2: 5.*
5. Because the practice above said tends to envy, hypocrisy and confusion, and so to the ruin of civil society.

The next meeting of the Warren Association was held at Medfield, on the 13th and 14th of September, 1774, at which the Rev. John Gano was chosen Moderator, and Hezekiah Smith, Clerk. Mr. Smith preached the Introductory Sermon. During the present year, which was one of marked importance in the history of the country, the spirit of resistance to the unjust claims of England had greatly increased among all classes throughout the land, until it was at length determined to unite the separate colonies in defence of their common rights. For this purpose a Congress of delegates met in Philadelphia, and on the 5th of September, 1774, commenced its sessions in

Carpenter's Hall. To this Congress the Association resolved to send Mr. Backus, the agent of the Baptist Churches, to see if something could not be done to secure religious liberty from the government at home, as well as civil rights from the government abroad. The idea originated with Manning, Smith, Gano, and others, who proposed it to Backus at the College Commencement at Providence, the week previous. A full account of this affair may be found in the "Life, Times and Correspondence of James Manning." The result was not satisfactory at the time, and yet it was indirectly the means of accomplishing great good. It opened the minds of the people generally to a knowledge of their true position and principles, and prepared the way for the astonishing increase of the Baptists, and for the remarkable spread of their sentiments throughout the land.¹

The Circular Letter to the Churches sent out by the Association, at this meeting held in Medfield, recommends as follows:—"And as it is a day of great affliction, when our civil rights are invaded, and our religious privileges are also in danger, we have concluded to recommend to you four days in the course of the ensuing year for fasting and prayer. The first, on Friday before the last Lord's

¹ In 1764, when Rhode Island College, now Brown University, was founded, the Baptists in all America numbered less than seventy churches, with perhaps five thousand members or communicants. In the words of President Manning, they were then "poor, despised, and oppressed." According to the "American Baptist Year-Book for 1884," they now number in the United States alone, 27,913 churches, with 17,527 ordained ministers, and 2,474,771 members, or communicants, having under their control 8 theological institutions, 33 colleges, and 60 academies or seminaries. If to this be added the Campbellites, to which sect the lamented President Garfield was attached, the Tunkers, or German Baptists, the Seventh-day, Six-principle, Free-will and Anti-mission Baptists, the number of communicants will be swelled to more than three millions. To state it in brief, the ratio of Baptists to the population in 1764, was one to five hundred; at the present time it is one to seventeen.

Day in November.—The second, on Friday before the last Lord's Day in February.—The third, on Friday before the last Lord's Day in May.—The fourth, on Friday before the last Lord's Day in August."

Our fathers were surely in earnest, in their efforts to secure civil and religious freedom. The following certificate or document, given to Mr. Backus by the Association, may fitly close this chapter:—

To the Honorable Delegates of the Several Colonies in North America, met in a General Congress at Philadelphia:—

HONORABLE GENTLEMEN:—As the Anti-pedobaptist Churches in New England are most heartily concerned for the preservation and defence of the rights and privileges of this country, and are deeply affected by the encroachments upon the same, which have lately been made by the British Parliament, and are willing to unite with our dear countrymen, vigorously to pursue every prudent measure of relief, so we would beg leave to say, that as a distinct denomination of Protestants, we conceive that we have an equal claim to charter rights with the rest of our fellow subjects; and yet we have long been denied the free and full enjoyment of those rights, as to the support of religious worship. Therefore, we, the Eklers and brethren of twenty Baptist Churches, met in Association at Medfield, twenty miles from Boston, Sept. 14, 1774, have unanimously chosen and sent unto you the Reverend and beloved Mr. Isaac Backus, as our agent, to lay our case, in these respects, before you, or otherwise to use all the prudent means he can for our relief.

JOHN GANO, *Moderator.*

HEZEKIAH SMITH, *Clerk.*

CHAPTER IV.

**BAPTISTS AND THE WAR—BUNKER HILL—SIEGE OF BOSTON—
ARMY IN NEW YORK—GOVERNOR'S ISLAND—BATTLE ON LONG
ISLAND AND RETREAT OVER THE EAST RIVER—SURRENDER OF
FORT WASHINGTON—CHAPLAINS IN THE AMERICAN ARMY.**

1775-1776.

Position of the Baptists at the commencement of hostilities--Reasons for engaging heartily in the cause of freedom--The War of the Revolution a church war--Opposed by the Baptists in England--Smith enters into the contest with patriotic zeal--Present at the Battle of Bunker Hill--Outline of a Sermon prepared to preach to his regiment--Appointed Chaplain--Colonel John Nixon--Action of Provincial Congress concerning Chaplains--Disposition of the American forces around Boston--Letters from Smith to his wife--Incidents of the Siege--Light-house--Leechmere's Point--Successes to the Northward--General Carleton--Captain Manly's privateering successes--Sufferings of the troops and inhabitants in Boston--Incentives for the British soldiers to desert--Evacuation of Boston and embarkation of British troops and refugees--Smith urged by officers and others to accompany the American Army to New York--Letter to his wife--Tender solicitude for her religious welfare--Informed by Colonel Nixon that, in future, the Chaplain's place is not at the front, in danger, but in the rear--Charlestown after the retreat of the British troops--Diary--Sets out for New York--Colonel Reed--Noah Alden--General Washington received in Providence--Arrival at New York--Joseph Treat--Sells his negro boy, Cato, to his brother--Work of a Chaplain--Gold Street Baptist Church--Statement of the batteries in New York--Letter to Brigadier-General Sullivan--Ebenzer David--Pennsylvania battalions--Visit to New Jersey--Attends a great religious meeting--Work of an Evangelist--Letter to his wife--William Rogers--Colonel Jeremiah Smith, his brother--Forces in and around New York on Washington's arrival--Increased by Congress--Diary continued--Another letter to his wife--Plot to destroy Washington and his generals--Mayor of New York implicated--Tryon--Lord Howe--Diary continued--Two vessels pass Governor's Island--Gloom Deepening--Prevalent sickness--Smith with his regiment on Governor's Island--Nixon entrusted by Washington with that important command--Absent from the army on account of sickness--Disastrous battle on Long Island, and Washington's retreat over the East River--Return to Camp--Diary--Surrender of Fort Washington to the British--Home on a furlough--Sermons on his return--Commission as a Chaplain--Washington's views in regard to religious service in the army--Title of Nixon--Resolution of Congress in 1777, appointing Brigade Chaplains--Smith's List of Brigade, or Brigadier Chaplains in 1776--Six, or nearly one-third, of the entire number Baptists--Testimony of Washington in regard to the part taken by Baptists in the glorious Revolution.

The year 1775 witnessed the commencement of hostilities between the British Government and the Colonies. The battles of Lexington and of Concord fired the patriotic heart, and the people everywhere rushed to arms. The Baptists had always been the friends of civil and religious freedom, and at this critical period they were among the first to pledge their fortunes and their lives in defence of the common cause. In the language of an address to the Virginia Convention in 1775, "however distinguished from the body of their countrymen by appellation and sentiments of a religious nature, they, nevertheless, considered themselves as members of the same community in respect to matters of a civil nature, and embarked in the same common cause; that, alarmed at the oppression which hangs over America, they had considered what part it would be proper to take in the unhappy contest, and had determined that they ought to make a military resistance against Great Britain in her unjust invasion, tyrannical oppression, and repeated hostilities."

Backus, in his "History of New England," thus clearly states the case:

Since the Baptists have often been oppressed in this land, and would have suffered more than they did, had it not been for restraints from Great Britain: 'how came they to join in a war against her? Many have wondered at it, and some have censured them severely therefor. But they had the following reasons for their conduct. 1. Where Episcopalians have had all the power of government, they have never allowed others so much liberty as we here enjoyed. In England, all are taxed to their worship, while none are admitted into civil offices but communicants in their church. In Virginia, they

¹ The oppression of the Baptists at Ashfield, Massachusetts, was stopped by order of the English Government, through the influence of Rev. Dr. Stennett, as has already been stated.

cruelly imprisoned Baptist ministers, only for preaching the gospel to perishing souls without license from their Courts, until this war compelled them to desist therefrom. Of this, we had incontestable evidence. Therefore we could have no rational hopes of any real advantage in joining with them.¹ 2. The worst treatment we here met with came from the same principles, and much of it from the same persons as the American War did. Many proofs of this have already been given, and more are at hand if called for. 3. The first Baptist minister in America publicly held forth, that all righteous government is founded in compact, expressed or implied; which is equally binding upon rulers and ruled; so that every officer, whether

¹ The War of the American Revolution has been termed a church war, or, in other words, a war carried on by the church party. It is certain that a large proportion of the "Loyalists," or as they were called by Washington and his adherents, "Tories," were of the Episcopal faith. Thus, while the whole number of regulars enlisted for the Continental service from the beginning to the close of the struggle, as stated by Sabine, in his "American Loyalists," was 231,559, Puritan New England equipped and maintained above one half of this number, or 118,350. Most of the Episcopal clergy, this author states, "not only espoused the adverse side, but abandoned their flocks and the country." When the British evacuated Philadelphia, every clergyman of the Episcopal denomination, says Headly, in his "Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution," left the State save the Rev. Wm. White, afterwards Bishop White. That the Baptists of England held to the views entertained by Backus on this subject, is very evident. The celebrated Robert Hall regarded the war as unrighteous as well as unpopular "with men of true liberal principles." In his published works, the eccentric John Ryland, of Northampton, a correspondent of President Manning and a benefactor of the College, is quoted as saying on a certain occasion:—"If I were General Washington, I would summon all the American officers; they should form a circle around me, and I would address them, and we would offer a libation in our own blood, and I would order one of them to bring a lancet and a punch-bowl; and he should bleed us all, one by one, into this punch-bowl; and I would be the first to bare my arm; and when the punch-bowl was full, and we had all been bled, I would call upon every man to consecrate himself to the work, by dipping his sword into the bowl, and entering into a solemn covenant engagement by oath, one to another, and we would swear by Him that sits upon the throne, and liveth for ever and ever, that we would never sheath our swords while there was an English soldier in arms remaining in America." The Rev. Dr. Rippon, of London, in a letter to President Manning, dated May 1, 1784, says: "I believe all our Baptist ministers in town except two, and most of our brethren in the country, were on the side of the Americans in the late dispute. But sorry, very sorry were we to hear that the College was a hospital, and the meeting houses were forsaken and occupied for civil or martial purposes. We wept when the thirsty plains drank the blood of your departed heroes, and the shout of a king was amongst us when your well fought battles were crowned with victory. And to this hour we believe that the independence of America will for awhile secure the liberty of this country; but that, if the Continent had been subdued, Britain would not long have been free."

succeeding or elected, who intermeddles in any matter not fairly derived from thence, goes beyond his commission. When therefore our countrymen adopted these principles, and founded their opposition to arbitrary claims wholly thereon, how could we avoid joining with them?

Mr. Smith entered into the contest with patriotic zeal, and all the fearless determination that had characterized his efforts thus far, to advance the cause of learning and religion in the denomination to which he was attached. He became the intimate friend of Washington,¹ and he possessed the confidence and esteem of the officers and men of the whole army. He was in some of the most important battles of the war, and he repeatedly exposed his life, trusting implicitly in the God of battles, and believing, to use his frequent favorite expression, that "every bullet had a commission." He was among the foremost in encouraging the soldiers, and in soothing the sorrows of the wounded and the dying. His military and personal record, which consists of letters, diaries, addresses, and documents, covers nearly the entire period of the war. In the enthusiastic assembling of the army at Cambridge, and upon the smoking heights of Bunker Hill, he was present, not merely as the servant of God and the pastor of some who were with him, but as a patriot and a citizen, haranguing the men, and leading them into conflict. Among his papers is a brief outline of

¹ As an evidence of General Washington's friendship for Dr. Smith, it may be stated that he corresponded with him after the war, and on his visit to Haverhill in 1789, called on him at his house. His son Jonathan, Mrs. S. F. Smith informs me, had in his possession, as she distinctly remembers in her girlhood, a package of some twenty or thirty letters from Washington. These letters her father gave away to relatives and friends, who desired them as memorials of the "Father of his Country." It is a matter of profound regret that they are not now on file among the Smith papers.

a sermon, "composed," according to a note at the end, "to preach the 18th of June, 1775, at Cambridge, amongst Col. Nixon's regiment in consequence of an invitation by letter from the Colonel himself." It is entitled, "The Soldier's Spiritual Armor," the text being in Eph. 6: 13, "Wherefore take unto you the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all to stand." The outline, or skeleton, of the sermon reads as follows:

1. Religion is excellently calculated to make mankind better, in every station and relation of life, and perhaps not more necessary amongst any set of men in the world, than among soldiers when in daily expectation of an engagement. 2. The Scriptures abound in metaphorical expressions, suitably adapted to every condition of life, to lead the minds of those of every calling to just and right notions of true religion. Our text is a suitable subject for the meditation, attention and practice of those who are in the army. 3. There are battles to be fought in a spiritual as well as in a natural sense. Verse 12. 4. Three things are to be attended to in war. First. Whether the cause is just and good. Second. Whether we are able with a common blessing to conquer. Third. Whether it be duty to actually engage our enemies.—I trust these particulars have been thoroughly weighed by you who are here ready upon the spot to engage in the defence of your just rights and privileges, and of our injured land. These particulars will abundantly hold good in the Christian warfare.

Method I. Unto whom this exhortation was given and does now belong. 1. It was given to the Saints at Ephesus. Chap. 1, verse 1. 2. It does not belong to the soldiers of Christ who have actually listed under the Captain of Salvation. You must understand, all are volunteers who belong to this kingdom. 3. They are those who have not only listed, but have taken the bounty of pardon and grace, and are under pay, which they daily receive when in the proper exercise which belongs to the regiment, and they obey the General's commands. 4. Those stand in need of the whole armor to proceed in battle successfully, which armor is provided by the King at his own expense, and freely bestowed for the use of his soldiers. 5. They are daily exposed to the malice and rage of their enemies, who are constantly laying

siege against and firing upon them. Hence they have daily need of the armor of God. 6. There is no piece of armor for the back. II. Consider the several parts of this armor of God. 1. Truth and righteousness. Verse 14. 2. Greaves and shoes for the feet. Verse 15. 3. Shield of faith. Verse 16. 4. The helmet of Salvation and Sword of the Spirit. 5. Prayer, watching, and perseverance. Verse 18. III. Show the necessity of putting the whole of it on. This appears, 1. From the enemies we have to encounter, who are powerful. Verse 12. 2. From our defect to supply the want of any piece of the armor, supposing we should neglect taking that which God has provided. 3. From the connection of the several parts, remove one part and you destroy the present benefit of all the rest. 4. From no superfluous parts belonging to it. Improvement.

Whether this ingenious and appropriate sermon was ever preached, cannot now be ascertained. The battle of Bunker Hill was fought on Saturday, June 17. The next day was one of confusion, anxiety, and toil, so that religious services among the troops were very likely dispensed with. Indeed, an irregular warfare was kept up from the day of battle until the 3d of July, when Washington took the command.

In the records of the church at Haverhill, under the date of July 12, 1775, appears the following: "Voted, That our Pastor shall comply with the request of Col. Nixon,¹ and supply as Chaplain the quarter part of the

¹Col. John Nixon. He was born at Framingham, Mass., March 4, 1725. He was present as a soldier at the siege of Louisburg, in 1745; fought as a Captain in the attack on Ticonderoga, and in the battle of Lake George; was at the head of a company of minute men at Lexington, and at the battle of Bunker Hill he was distinguished for his bravery, receiving at the head of a regiment a severe wound from which he never fully recovered. He was made a Brigadier General, Aug. 9, 1776, and entrusted by Washington with the command on Governor's Island, New York. In the great battle of Stillwater, a cannon ball impaired permanently his sight and hearing; and in 1780, in consequence of injuries and bad health, he resigned his commission. He removed to Middlebury, Vermont, in 1803, where he died, March 24, 1818, at the age of 90. The name of Nixon is conspicuous on every page of Chaplain Smith's diary.

In regard to the request made to the church by Col. Nixon, it may be stated

time for the future in his regiment." In accordance with this vote, the wording of which would seem to imply that Mr. Smith had no discretion in the matter, he was at once appointed chaplain to the regiment designated, in which were many members from Haverhill.¹ The New Eng-

that it was in accordance with the advice of the ministers of the Massachusetts Bay, who in Convention, June 1, 1775, placed on record the following:

"The Convention, taking into consideration the method of furnishing the army with chaplains, agreeably to the offer they have made to the Honorable Congress, think it most expedient, that a sufficient number of persons should be chosen out of their number, by the officers of the army, to officiate steadily, rather than by quick rotation, in that character; and the Convention depend, that the parochial duties of those ministers who shall serve in the army, will be performed by their brethren in the vicinity."

At the Second Provincial Congress, May 20, 1775, it had been resolved as follows:

"WHEREAS, It is necessary that Chaplains should be appointed in the Massachusetts army, under the command of the Hon. Artemas Ward, Esq., which, if appointed, on the establishment made by this Congress, will greatly enhance the colony debt; and, whereas, it has been represented to this Congress, that several ministers of the religious assemblies within this colony, have expressed their willingness to attend the army aforesaid, in the capacity of chaplains, as they may be directed by this Congress; therefore, Resolved, That it be, and it hereby is recommended, to the ministers of the several religious assemblies within this colony, that with the leave of their several congregations, they attend said army in their several turns, to the number of thirteen at one time, during the time the army shall be encamped, and that they make known their resolutions to the Congress, thereon, or to the Committee of Safety, as soon as may be."

At the Third Provincial Congress, June 2, 1775, it had further been resolved as follows:

"WHEREAS, It is of the greatest importance that our colony army be furnished with gentlemen to act as Chaplains, on whose virtue, firmness, and patriotism they can safely rely; and whereas, the Reverend Convention of the Clergy of this Colony, have most nobly and without reward, tendered their services in their country's cause,

"Therefore, Resolved, That the General and Field Officers be, and they hereby are empowered and directed, to choose nine gentlemen of the clergy of this colony, to act as chaplains to said army; provided that not more than two of them belong to any one country; and the general officers of said army are hereby empowered to determine the regiments to which each chaplain shall be desired to officiate; and also, the committee of supplies are hereby directed to make suitable provision for said chaplains during their continuance in camp."

It is a matter of just pride that of the "nine gentlemen of the clergy" of Massachusetts to act as Chaplains, Mr. Smith, notwithstanding his frequent encounters with the "Standing Order," in the contests of the Baptists for religious liberty, should have been designated and selected as one.

¹ The story of the never to be forgotten nineteenth of April, reached Haverhill

land forces at this time consisted of 17,000 men enrolled, of whom 14,500 were considered fit for duty. These, under the directions of the Commander in chief, were arranged in three grand divisions, each consisting of two brigades or twelve regiments, in which troops from the same colony, as far as practicable, were brought together. The centre, commanded by Maj. Gen. Putnam, was stationed at Cambridge; and the right wing, commanded by Maj. Gen. Ward, was stationed at Roxbury. The left wing was placed under the command of Maj. Gen. Lee, who had under him Brig. Gen. Greene, stationed at Prospect Hill, and Brig. Gen. Sullivan, stationed at Winter Hill. Gen. Sullivan had under him Colonels Stark, Poor, and Reed, from New Hampshire, and Colonels Nixon, Mansfield, and Doolittle, from Massachusetts. The only record of Chaplain Smith for the twelve months ensuing, consists of letters to his wife, extracts from some of which have already been published in my "Life of President Manning." They are given here in full. The first that has come to my knowledge, reads as follows:

CAMP WINTER HILL, July 31, 1776.

MY DEAR AND LOVING WIFE: Last night and this morning we had several skirmishes with the regulars. Near the common, before you come to Charlestown Neck, was one,¹ in which our people killed

soon after noon of that day. Before night one hundred and five men, almost one-half of the entire militia force of the town, left for the scene of action. Many of the men were members of Mr. Smith's church and congregation. In the glorious seventeenth of June, seventy-four men from Haverhill took part in the fight.—Chace's "History of Haverhill."

¹ On Monday, July 30, at 11 o'clock, about 800 British troops marched over the Neck, and built a slight breastwork to cover their guard. About 1 o'clock next morning, the picket guard drove in the American advanced guard of 60 men; who, being reinforced by orders of Gen. Lee, beat off the enemy, recovered their ground, killed several, and took seven muskets, without the loss of a man.—Frothingham's "Siege of Boston."

one regular, and got four or five of their guns, without losing a man, or having one wounded, though this day we lost one or two men by a cannon ball. The second was at Roxbury Neck,¹ in which, by information, we lost none, and none were wounded, although we took three of the regulars, besides those that were wounded. The third was at the Lighthouse,² which the regulars and Tories were rebuilding, in which we lost one or two men, and had a small number wounded. Our forces killed the Captain of the guard, and took about twenty-five regulars and eleven Tories prisoners, besides the wounded. The pilot, to pilot vessels in and out of Boston, was one of them. Thirty-six were brought into Cambridge just before sunset, as I am informed. The Tories hang their heads. Through Heaven's blessing I am in health, and I hope my dear wife and little ones enjoy the same blessing. It is uncertain what time next week I shall return home. Don't look for me till you see me. As I have nothing more at present to communicate, only that a considerable number of the Bostonians have come into the country, out of Boston, within a few days, and it is time for me to go to bed, I am, etc.,

HEZEKIAH SMITH.

August 1, 1775. I understand by Mr. Eliphalet Smith, that my dear wife has been somewhat unwell and also our little son. I hope by this time you are both getting better. Our kind God can easily heal you both. I think nothing extraordinary has happened in our army to-day. Many guns have been fired upon both sides, but I cannot learn that any one was hurt. I expect either Mr. Foster or Mr. Smith will supply our pulpit next Lord's Day. I hope you will attend to the one thing needful.

H. S.

CAMP WINTER HILL, Dec. 18, 1775.

MY DEAR: This may inform you that I enjoy my usual state of health, through the blessing of Heaven. I hope you and our little children enjoy the same. This day I expected to see another battle with the regulars, but hitherto am disappointed. Perhaps it will be

¹ Monday, July 31. About 1 o'clock in the morning, a party sallied out towards Roxbury, drove in the American sentinels, set fire to the George tavern, and returned to their works.—Frothingham's "Siege of Boston."

² The enemy had commenced rebuilding the Lighthouse, and Monday, July 31, Major Tupper with 300 men was detached, with orders to disperse the working party. He demolished the works, and brought his party off with the loss of one man killed and two or three wounded. He killed and captured 53 of the enemy. Washington, the next day, in general orders, thanked Maj. Tupper and his officers and men "for their gallant and soldier-like behavior."—Frothingham's "Siege of Boston."

brought on before night, though I do not expect it. The reason why I expected an engagement with the enemy this day was, because they fired a number of cannon and sent several bombs at our people yesterday and last night on Lechmere's Point,¹ where our people are fortifying opposite to New Boston, and in reach of their cannon in Boston. The only mischief they did our people was, that they wounded one of our men in the rump, which was only a flesh wound. Early this morning, accompanied by my Colonels, I went to Ploughed Hill to see the battle; but missing of my expectations we went over upon Lechmere's Point. Did not meet with a salutation from the regulars. We then returned to Winter Hill after about five miles walk. This we did before breakfast. I believe the regulars are afraid to come out the second time² and try the valor of the Americans. I suppose you have heard of the wonderful success of our army to the northward, in taking eleven sail of the enemy's, shipping with all they had on board except Gen. Carleton³ and five more, who escaped by running into the woods. I hope to hear soon that Quebec is taken. Oh, what cause of thankfulness to that God who has given us such uncommon and such undeserved success! I am still in expectation of being in

¹ Washington built strong works at Lechmere's Point, now East Cambridge. He commenced planting a bomb-battery here on the night of Nov. 29th. At no time during the siege of Boston was the expectation more generally entertained in the army of an assault from the enemy than during the progress of this work. "Not an officer in the army," wrote Washington, "but looks for an attack." On the 12th of December, he commenced a causeway over the marsh leading to the Point, and on the 17th, a detachment of 300 men under Gen. Putnam broke ground near the water side, within half a mile of a British man-of-war.—Frothingham, "Siege of Boston."

² On the 9th of November, Lieut.-Col. Clark, at the head of six companies of light infantry and a hundred grenadiers, embarked in boats from Boston, and landed at Lechmere's Point, in order to carry off the stock there. The alarm was given. Colonels Thompson, Woodbridge, and Patterson, with their regiments, marched down to meet the enemy. They had two men dangerously wounded by grape shot from the British man-of-war. The British lost two men, and carried off ten cows. Washington praised the troops next day in general orders.—Frothingham, "Siege of Boston."

³ Montgomery took possession of Montreal on the 12th of November, 1775. The day before he entered the place, Carleton, with more than a hundred regulars and Canadians, embarked on board some small vessels to descend to Quebec. He was detained in the river for several days by contrary winds. On the 17th of November, Brigadier Gen. Prescott surrendered to the Americans the flotilla of eleven sail, with all the soldiers, sailors, and stores on board; but in the darkest hour of the previous night, Carleton, entering a small boat in the disguise of a peasant, had been safely paddled through the islands that lie opposite the Sorel.—Bancroft's "History of the United States."

Boston before next March. Who can doubt of success from what the Lord hath already done for us? We learn that the regulars in Boston are very sickly of late with the black scurvy, and much distressed for want of wood and sauce. They have not even peas to eat with their meat. Our men are in high spirits. I want to see a reformation. May the set time to favor Zion soon come. My compliments to our friends in Haverhill. You see what a long letter I have written, and you send me a short one. This moment Col. John Nixon has brought me the intelligence of Capt. Manly's¹ success in taking a new sloop, mounting and swivels, and containing 7 or 8 hundred bushels of oats, and near the same quantity of potatoes and also of corn, the whole amounting to 2,800 bushels. A Colonel from Virginia was on board, who had enlisted a number of negroes, also one of the Congress, and three of our Captains whom they had taken. He took her in the following manner. He sailed near and asked her whither she was bound. They told him into Boston. He told them he was a TENDER of the Lively Man-of-War, and, if they chose it, he would come on board and pilot them in. Upon which they readily received him and some of his hands, who ran her into Beverly.

From your loving husband,

HEZEKIAH SMITH.

December 19, 1775. This morning General Sullivan informed me that General Carleton was taken. The news came so direct that he believed it might be depended on. Last night and to-day the king's troops have sent a number of bombs at our people on Leechmere's Point, but have done no damage, thanks to our God for his kind protection. If you should have an opportunity, pray send Mr. Johnson word to get his salt soon of Capt. Greenleaf, who was to let him have it on my account, before the price rises. I am informed it is a dollar a bushel this day. Or desire Capt. Greenleaf to get it in readiness for him. You may inform Mr. Wingate that I mentioned to Col. Nixon what he desired of me, but I have not as yet received sufficient encouragement for him to come down. The old sutler has concluded to stay.

December 25, 1775. Yesterday at General Sullivan's I saw a regu-

¹ Capt. Manly was Commander of the Lee. During this month he made many captures, and his praise was in everybody's mouth. In November, he captured the British ordnance brig Nancy, and carried her into Cape Ann. So complete was the assortment of military stores on board of her, that Washington, on receiving the intelligence, was apprehensive that the British general would make a bold movement to recover the ship.—Frothingham's, "Siege of Boston"

lar deserter,¹ who left Bunker Hill the night before. He says it is sickly amongst the regular troops, and many of them die. That they have no fresh provisions for the soldiers, nor sauce. They are in difficulty on account of fire-wood, having none but what they pick up, being obliged to burn the floors of marquees, tents, etc. That there are but about 500 men on Bunker Hill, commanded by Col. Agnew.² I don't expect to see you till the fifth of next month, if then. It is not improbable to me but that something will be done about that time, which if not finished by that day, may induce me to tarry a little longer. We had a violent storm yesterday. Am sorry it is no colder this day, for I long to see Boston harbor shut up with strong ice, to afford us an opportunity of visiting our neighbors there.

CAMP, WINTER HILL, March 11, 1776.

MY DEAR HEPHIZIAH: Since my last, the movements of the ministerial army give us reason to think they are about leaving Boston. But in what direction they will go from thence is uncertain. We expect they will aim for the Southern colonies. If so, our army will soon move, and be ready to attack them when they land. The general order of to-day is, for all the army to get ready for a speedy remove. The field officers of the regiments I serve, as well as others, insist upon my going with them; and I must confess, the prospect of usefulness in the glorious cause of our country, joined with that of usefulness to

¹ The British officers were much annoyed by the success of the American sentinels in dispersing hand-bills among their rank and file, and thus inciting to desertion. One contained the following comparison:

PROSPECT HILL.

1. Seven dollars a month.
2. Fresh provisions and in plenty.
3. Health.
4. Freedom, ease, affluence, and a good

farm.

BUNKER HILL.

1. Three pence a day.
2. Rotten salt pork.
3. The scurvy.
4. Slavery, beggary, and want.

² Before the barracks were ready on Bunker Hill, for the winter garrison, the troops encountered cutting winds and driving snows. These troops at length struck their tents. Lieut. Col. Agnew, with 700 men, was left in the three redoubts erected on the heights. Gen. Clinton with the remainder, moved into Boston. There are long descriptions of the sufferings of the troops and inhabitants at this period. One account, Dec. 14, says: "The distress of the troops and inhabitants in Boston is great beyond all possible description. Neither vegetables, flour, nor pulse for the inhabitants; and the king's stores so very short, none can be spared from them; no fuel, and the winter set in remarkably severe. The troops and inhabitants absolutely and literally starving for want of provisions and fire. Even salt provision is fifteen pence sterling per pound." The small-pox also broke out, and spread alarm through the army.—*Frothingham's "Siege of Boston."*

souls, inclines me to yield to their request. And since my people as a body have not manifested their disapprobation of my being in the army, during the present campaign, I think they cannot justly blame me in struggling with others for the salvation of America, especially the UNITED COLONIES in America.

Your zeal for the cause, united with consideration, will I doubt not, cause you to yield to the disagreeable necessity of parting for a few months. As I shall want to send my linen with the baggage, should be glad if you would send me my fine shirts, with my cotton linen shirts, as soon as possible. If I can conveniently, I will come to Haverhill before my departure. You know I want to visit my aged mother, which, if we go to New York, I can do. Mr. Wingate can inform you about public affairs. The Lord reigns, and therefore I will rejoice, and submit the whole to him who disposes me to be in the army, out of which I could not, at present, control myself. I trust America will yet get the day, and enjoy her just rights and privileges. Let us leave all with God, then we shall be happy. I wish you well, and can leave all with my God. As I expect to have a horse found me to go to Haverhill, if our army moves, you need not send mine to me, nor come to fetch me. If we should not move you will hear from me again, when I can inform you where to send my horse. From your loving husband,

HEZEKIAH SMITH.

It will be noticed that the field officers, as well as others, insisted that Chaplain Smith should accompany the army to New York. His patriotic views, his confidence in the ultimate success of the American arms, his belief in an All-wise and All-controlling Providence, and his loving disposition as shown in his expressions of tenderness and care for his wife and "little ones," are points that will commend themselves to the attention of the reader. His anticipations in regard to the movements of the "ministerial army," proved correct. On Saturday, March 16th, Washington gained possession of Nook's Hill, when General Howe at once resolved to evacuate the town. At four o'clock the embarkation of the army

commenced. About nine o'clock the garrison left Bunker Hill, and a large number of boats, filled with troops and inhabitants, put off from the wharfs of Boston. Ten thousand men, including seamen, and more than a thousand refugees, sailed down the harbor, in seventy-eight ships and transports. On Wednesday, March 20th, the main body of the American Army marched into Boston. "The inhabitants," says Thatcher, "appeared at their doors and windows; and though they manifested a lively joy at being liberated from their long confinement, they were not altogether free from a melancholy gloom, which ten tedious months' siege had spread over their countenances." The following letter is dated the day of the march:—

CAMP, WINTER HILL, *March 20, 1776.*

MY DEAR HEPHIZIBAH:—This day I was in Boston, where I saw a number of houses destroyed by the regulars; but the damage in that town is not so great as I expected; and what they left amounts to a large sum, which is a proof that they left the town in great fear, and with much precipitation.¹ We have no particular orders about marching to the southward yet; but I am confident we shall be obliged to go before long. If so, you will not expect to see me at Haverhill very soon, as my horse is low in flesh, and not so well fitted for a long journey as I could wish. You may well judge that so long an absence from home is equally disagreeable to me as to you; but as duty in the course of providence requires it, we ought to be reconciled to it, and bear up under it with a becoming fortitude. Let us place our confidence in God, and take delight in him the Supreme Good. Then shall we be happy, and the time will not seem so tedious to us during my absence. If you should have an opportunity to send my summer gown, I shall be glad. There is some dirt in heaps, in my meadow, which ought to be spread. Soon after I left you Mr. Bradley told me they would take the place to the halves, and not have any of the Fall feed. You had better see Mr. Duncan soon, and settle it, who shall have it. If Mr.

¹ An inventory of the stores, ordnance, and vessels, left in Boston by the British, is published in an appendix to Frothingham's "History of the Siege." The amount in value was very great, and they were truly reasonable.

Redford don't plant that piece by his house you may let it to somebody else if you conveniently can. Remember, Mr. Row owes me three bushels of potatoes, which he says, are in Mr. Redford's cellar. If you don't want to use them you may sell them. Mr. Benj. Moore will assist you in any of your business. I am sorry my good Deacon Shepard discovered such a temper at my yielding to what I think is my duty. It will be the best for you not to say much about it; and if you hear reflections cast upon me, not to resent them, but to let them pass. The least said is the best. I pity and sympathize with some of my people, and hope to see them again in the Lord's time, with whom I should have been next Lord's Day, had they procured a horse for me before I left Haverhill. I hope you will not neglect writing to me frequently. I commend you to God and the word of his grace, wishing the best of blessings to rest upon you and our little ones.

From your absent, loving husband,

HEZEKIAH SMITH.

P. S. MY DEAR.—Don't think hard of me for not coming to you again before I set out for New York. You may be assured it is not for want of regard for you, but from several other reasons, which will be satisfactory when you hear them at the end of the campaign from my own mouth. Don't be concerned for me but for yourself, and if you find no heart to pray for yourself, pray for me, and let us meet daily at the throne of grace. This day, Col. Nixon told me that if he was going into battle, he would choose to leave me behind to pray for him, for he says it is not my place to be in danger; and I have concluded to act in my own department and not expose myself to danger. Write often to your unworthy friend,

HEZEKIAH SMITH.

What tender solicitude for the religious welfare of a young and loving wife, whom less than five years before he had led in triumph to the nuptial altar! "Don't be concerned for me but for yourself, and if you find no heart to pray for yourself pray for me, and let us meet daily at the throne of grace." And what pains he takes to calm her fears, and remove her anxious forebodings. His commanding officer tells him it is not his place to be in danger, but to remain behind to pray, and to soothe and comfort the wounded and dying. The brave Chaplain is

himself insensible to fear; and, like his friend Gano, in times of conflict and peril unconsciously finds himself "at the front." Henceforth, he says, he has "concluded to act in his own department." His diary however shows that he did not always adhere to this determination.¹

The day after the evacuation of Boston, Washington ordered five of his best regiments to march under Heath to New York. Six more regiments under Sullivan were sent off March 29th. Washington himself went by way of Providence, Norwich, and New London, expediting the embarkation of troops from these posts, and arriving at New York on the 13th of April. Smith's diary begins March 18th:—

1776. March, 18. I was about home making preparations for a march with the American, or Continental Army, as Chaplain to Col. James Reed's² regiment and Col. John Nixon's regiment, to New York. —Tues., 19. Left home and went to the camp on Winter Hill.—Wed., 20, Thurs., 21, Fri., 22, Sat., 23. Viewing the works and the destruction of the king's forces on Bunker Hill, Charlestown,³ and

¹ In after years Mr. Smith used frequently to remark, that when in battles and engagements, he never dodged the bullets, saying that "every bullet had its commission." Of course he was a firm believer in the old-fashioned doctrine of a divine agency in all human affairs, and hence his sense of personal security, and his inward peace in times of peril and danger. This interesting statement I have from Mr. Benj. Wheeler, a graduate of Brown University, and at one time an instructor. His grandmother, whose maiden name was Hannah Page, was a member of Mr. Smith's congregation, and nursed him during his last sickness.

² Col. Reed is spoken of as a good officer and a thorough disciplinarian. His men were from New Hampshire. His letters to the New Hampshire Congress bear evidence of a patriotic spirit.

³ Charlestown presented one unbroken scene of desolation. Dr. Warren, on the 21st of March, visited it, and described it as follows:—"A most melancholy heap of ruins it is. Scarcely the vestiges of those beautiful buildings remain to distinguish them from the mean cottages. The hill, which was the theatre upon which the bloody tragedy of the 17th of June was acted, commands the most affecting view I ever saw in my life. The walls of magnificent buildings tottering to the earth below—above, a great number of rude hillocks, under which are deposited the remains of clusters of those deathless heroes who fell in the field of battle. The scene was inexpressibly solemn."

Boston, besides attending the duty of Chaplain.—*Sab., 24.* Preached in camp on Winter Hill as usual, about the middle of the day, from Zeph. 3: 15, and in the afternoon in the Guard House on Bunker Hill, from Zeph. 3: 17.—*Mon., 25, Tues., 26, Wed., 27, Thurs., 28.* In camp, and *Fri., 29,* began our march to New York under the command of Gen. Sullivan. Six regiments were in the brigade. I got to Medfield that night and lodged at Eliakim Morse's.—*Sat., 30.* Went to Bellingham and lodged at the Rev. Mr. Alden's.¹—*Sab., 31.* Preached two sermons in Mr. Alden's pulpit from Zeph. 3: 17.—*Mon., April 1.* Went to Providence and lodged with my old friend, Mr. Nicholas Brown.—*Tues., 2.* In the evening preached a sermon in Mr. Manning's meeting house, from Zeph. 3: 17.—*Wed., 3.* Preached another sermon in Mr. Manning's meeting house, from 1 Thess. 5: 23.—*Thurs., 4.* Tarried in Providence.²—*Fri., 5.* Went within about 9 miles of Norwich, and lodged at Rev. Mr. Hart's.—*Sat., 6.* Went into New London, and lodged at Rev. Mr. Woodbridge's, for whom I preached in the forenoon of next day from Isa. 55: 10-11, and heard Mr. Jutkin preach in the afternoon.—*Mon., 8.* Went to Guilford, and lodged there.—*Tues., 9.* Went to Esq. Nichols' at Stratford. Tarried there two nights.—*Wed., 10.* Preached a sermon at Mr. Joseph Nichols', from Heb. 12: 2.—*Thurs., 11.* Went to Mr. Young's, near Stamford. Lodged there.—*Fri., 12.* Went to Mr. Merrit's in King Street. Preached there in Mr. Phillips' meeting house one sermon on the Lord's Day, from Zeph. 3: 17. That evening went to Mr. Lyon's,

¹ The Rev. Noah Alden, one of the four Baptist ministers, who united in 1767 in forming the Warren Association (See previous chapter). He was installed as Pastor of the Church in Bellingham, Nov., 12, 1766, and continued in that relation until his death in 1797. When the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was formed, he was the delegate from Bellingham, and he occupied a conspicuous place in the Convention, being one of the ablest and most active friends of religious liberty in that body. He was also a member of the Convention for the adoption of the Constitution of the United States.

² Chaplain Smith did not probably march with the regiments, but rode on alone. A letter from Col. Joseph Houghkins, published in Howe's "Ipswich Antiquarian Papers," shows that General Green's brigade marched through Walpole, arriving there Tuesday, April 2, and reaching Providence Wednesday, April 3. On Friday, April 5, Col. Little's and Col. Hitchcock's regiments were under arms "to receive General Washington into town, which was done with a great deal of pleasure and honor to both General and officers." His Excellency was escorted into town at 8 o'clock in the morning. In the general order for this occasion, none were "to turn out except those dressed in uniform; and those of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers," that turned out "were to be washed both face and hands clean, their boards shaved, their hair combed and powdered, and their arms cleaned."

in White Plains. Lodged there.—Mon., 15. Went to New York. Tarried there on Tuesday.—Wed., 17. Went to my brother's at Connecticut Farms.—Thurs., 18. Visited my mother. That evening preached at Doctor Smith's, my youngest brother's house, from Zeph. 3: 17.—Fri., 19. Went to New York. Took my lodgings at Mr. Gano's.—Sat., 20. Officiated in our regiment, then stationed in New York.—Sab., 21. Preached to my regiment, from James 1: 25, one sermon, in the old Presbyterian meeting house, and in the afternoon I preached to the Presbyterian congregation by Mr. Trent's¹ request, from Rom. 8: 17.—Mon., 22, Tues., 23. Attending the duty of Chaplain.—Wed., 24. In the evening preached one sermon in Mr. Gano's pulpit, from Heb. 12: 2.—Thurs., 25, Fri., 26, Sat., 27. Performing my Chaplain's duty.—Sab., 28. Mr. Bay preached for me, and I preached one sermon in Mr. Gano's pulpit, from Micah 7: 9.—Mon., 29, Tues., 30, Wed., May 1, Thurs., 2. Went to the Jerseys.—Fri., 3. Sold Cato² to my brother Peter for 125 dollars and returned the same day to New York.—Sat., 4. In camp.—Sab., 5. Preached two sermons in Mr. Gano's pulpit,³ from Isa. 44: 22, and Isa. 55: 4; and one to my regiment, from James 1: 25, and finished the subject I began before.—Mon., 6, Tues., 7, Wed., 8, Thurs., 9, Fri., 10, Sat., 11. Performing Chaplain's duty, i.e., praying with my regiments, visiting the sick, attending a funeral, studying, etc.—Sab., 12. Preached one sermon in the camp near Bayard's Hill,⁴ upon which a fort is built, to my

¹ The Rev. Joseph Treat, a graduate of Princeton, in the Class of 1757, and a Tutor in the College while Mr. Smith was a student. Mr. Treat was at this time Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in New York.

² Mr. Smith's servant. A private memorandum reads:—"My negro boy Cato was born about the middle of October, in the year 1762." He was now therefore nearly fourteen. His brother Peter, to whom he sold him, was Doctor Smith, his youngest brother, at whose house in Chatham he preached Thursday evening, April 18th.

³ The church where Mr. Smith so frequently officiated as preacher and chaplain was called the First, or Gold Street, Baptist Church. The house was erected in 1760. Forty years later, it was taken down and a spacious stone edifice, 65 by 80 feet, was erected in its place. The Rev. John Gano, became Pastor of the church in June, 1762.

⁴ The following statement of the batteries at New York at this time, including Bayard's Hill, is given in Irving's "Life of Washington":

1. The Grand Battery, in the south part of the town.
2. Fort George, immediately above it.
3. White Hall Battery, on the left of the Grand Battery.
4. Oyster Battery, behind General Washington's headquarters.
5. Grenadier Battery, near the Brew House, on the North River.
6. Jersey Battery, on the left of the Grenadier Battery.

regiments which I serve at present, viz., Colonels Nixon's and Webb's, Col. Webb's regiment having joined Col. Nixon's for me to serve them as Chaplain since Col. James Reed has marched with his regiment to Canada, to whom, in conjunction with Col. Nixon, I was appointed Chaplain. In the afternoon, I preached a sermon in Mr. Gano's pulpit, from 2 Cor. 7: 10.—Mon., 13. Tues., 14. Wed., 15, Thurs., 16. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Fri., 17. Preached two sermons to my regiments in the camp, from Micah 7: 9, and Zech. 7: 5, and afterwards delivered a short discourse in Mr. Gano's pulpit to the congregation and a number of soldiers. It was the Continental Fast, which was externally well kept.—Sat., 18. In my study.—Sah., 19. Preached one sermon in Mr. Gano's pulpit, from 1 John 3: 14, and another to my regiments in camp, from Zech. 7: 12.—Mon., 20, Tues., 21, Wed., 22, Thurs., 23. Performing Chaplain's duty.

The following letter addressed to his former commanding officer, Brigadier General Sullivan, now in Canada, will be read with interest. General Sullivan, who had been detached with troops from New York by Washington, succeeded General Thomas in the command, Thomas having died on the 2d of June, of the small-pox. He was soon however driven out of Canada. On the illness of Green, he took command of his division on Long Island, where, in the disastrous battle of August 27, he was taken prisoner. He was afterwards exchanged and made a Major General. After the war he was for several years President of New Hampshire. He was five years younger than the Chaplain who thus gently urges upon his consideration the claims of the Christian religion:

CAMP, NEW YORK, *May 24, 1776.*

SIR: The obligations I feel to one whose polite and martial behavior has rendered him famous in the political world, and who is very

7. Bayard's Hill Redoubt, on Bayard's Hill.

8. Spencer's Redoubt, on the hill where his brigade is encamped.

9. Waterbury's Battery, on a wharf below this hill.

10. Radlam's Redoubt, on a hill near the Jews' burying ground.

dear to me, may sufficiently apologize for this scrawl, to divert you a moment from the innumerable unavoidable avocations which more immediately demand your constant attention and vigorous exertions. Had I anything now of importance to suggest to your Honor, it would afford me peculiar satisfaction, and might be an evidence of that undissembled attachment which I feel to him whose happiness I earnestly desire. Distance of place is not attended with distance of affection. I never expect to be better pleased with a General, and should esteem it a very great favor if I should be so well pleased in another as I was in yourself. A soul like yours, possessed with so many superior amiable qualifications, viewed in a military or civil light, would shine in the sphere of Christianity, were it to be deeply impressed with the glorious religion of a meek and lovely Jesus; which animates the warrior, embellishes the human soul, and affords a certain lustre to morality, furnishing the hero for more extensive usefulness and happiness here, and qualifying him for the sublime entertainments of the celestial world hereafter.

I am with the utmost respect,

Your obliged and humble servant,

HEZEKIAH SMITH.

N. B.—I serve as a Chaplain in Col. Nixon's and Col. Webb's regiments, amongst whom health generally prevails. I don't expect to be under the necessity of going to Canada for fighting during the present campaign. It is probable there will be something of that to do here.

Fri., 24. Went to Long Island and preached a sermon to the Pennsylvania¹ regiments stationed there, from Esther 4: 14.—Sat., 25. In my study at Mr. Gano's.—Sat., 26. Preached a sermon to my regiments in camp, from Josh. 1: 7, and heard Mr. Gano and Mr. David² preach in Mr. Gano's pulpit twice.—Mon., 27. Visited the sick in the hospital.—Tues., 28. Went to my brother's, Col. Smith in Connecticut Farms. Lodged there.—Wed., 29. Went to my brother's, Doctor Smith at Chatham, and preached that evening at his house, from Eph. 6: 11: "Put on the whole armor of God, that ye may be

¹ There were four Continental battalions from Pennsylvania, commanded by Colonels Shree, St. Clair, Wayne, and Magaw, and two provincial battalions commanded by Colonels Miles and Atlee. The battalion under Shree was chiefly from Philadelphia, especially the officers, with some of whom Smith was, doubtless, personally acquainted, he having frequently visited that city.

² The Rev. Ebenezer David, a graduate of Rhode Island College, in the class of 1772. He was for a time Chaplain in the American Army. He died in 1778.

able to stand against the wiles of the devil."—Thurs., 30. Went to see my mother and brethren; and preached that evening at my brother Uriah Smith's, from 1 John 3: 14: "We know that we have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren."—Fri., 31. Preached a sermon at Happy Cook's from Joshua 1: 7, and that evening another sermon at Doctor Smith's, from Joshua 1: 7.—Sat., June 1. Preached a sermon at Jeremiah Manning's¹ in Bonham Town, in the evening, from Joshua 1: 7: "Only be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayest observe to do according to all the law which Moses my servant commanded thee, turn not from it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayest prosper whithersoever thou goest."—Sab., 2. Attended a great meeting at Piscataqua. Heard Mr. Morgan preach in the forenoon, and I preached in the afternoon from Psa. 45: 1, "My heart is inditing a good matter: I speak of the things which I have made touching the King: my tongue is the pen of a ready writer." And in the evening I preached at Brunswick in the Presbyterian meeting house, from John 1: 38-9. "Where dwellest thou? He saith unto them, Come and see."—Mon., 3. Heard Mr. Morgan and Mr. David Sutton preach. The latter closed the great meeting. That evening I preached at Nathaniel Drake's, from Isa. 55: 4, "Behold I have given him for a witness to the people."—Tues., 4. Preached in Mr. Miller's meeting house, from Eph. 2: 1, "And you hath he quickened who were dead in trespasses and sins." And in the evening I preached in Mr. Hait's meeting house, in Connecticut Farms, from Isa. 55: 4. "Behold I have given him for a witness to the people, a leader and commander to the people." Lodged that night at Col. Smith's.—Wed., 5. Went to New York.—Thurs., 6. Changed my lodgings from Mr. Gano's to Mr. Carman's.

From Tues., May 28, until Wed., June 5, Mr. Smith, it appears, was in New Jersey, attending a great religious meeting at Piscataqua, associating with his brethren in the ministry, Rev. Benjamin Miller, of Scotch Plains; Rev. Abel Morgan, of Middletown; Rev. Isaac Stelle, of Piscataqua; Rev. David Sutton, of Kingwood, and others connected with the Philadelphia Association. He also visited his relatives and friends, preaching at their houses,

¹ A brother of President Manning.

and in the Presbyterian meeting houses in Brunswick, and at Connecticut Farms. Amid the busy scenes of camp and the turmoils of war, his mind was filled with a sense of divine things, and he was ever ready to engage in his loved work of an evangelist. Upon his return he addressed the following interesting letter to his beloved wife in Haverhill:—

CAMP, NEW YORK, June 8, 1776.

MY VERY DEAR HEPHIZIBAH:—I was much disappointed in being out of town when Mr. Rogers' went through for Haverhill, through whom I proposed to have sent a letter. I went to see our aged mother, brothers, and sisters, whom I found in health, although I left my oldest brother¹ unwell in consequence of a violent cold, which he took while getting ready for a march, he having been appointed to the command of the Elizabethtown troops. We have expected something would be done before now by the ministerial troops in the city; but their expected army I believe, has not yet arrived.² Only a few vessels lay down at the Hook at present. Our men in general are healthy, and I am daily at work preparing for the enemy. If the enemy should take New York, I am persuaded they will find great difficulty, and sustain great loss in the acquisition. We received in this city the good news of our privateers' success in taking three large vessels, whose cargo was valuable, which we sent to New England. I hope they will arrive safe.

¹ Prof. William Rogers, D. D., at this time Chaplain of the battalions of foot, voted by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania in March, 1776, for the defence of their province. He was afterwards promoted to a Brigade Chaplaincy in the Continental Army. He was born in Newport, R. I., and was graduated at Rhode Island College in 1769, being a member of the famous first graduating class. Previous to the war he was Pastor of the First Baptist Church in Philadelphia. Perhaps he was now on his way to preach at Haverhill in the absence of Mr. Smith. He was for many years a Professor of English and Oratory in the College and Academy of Philadelphia, and in the University of Pennsylvania. He died in 1824, at the age of 73, beloved and respected by all. The First Baptist Church of Philadelphia erected a handsome monument to his memory.

² Colonel Jeremiah Smith. He resided at Connecticut Farms, a short distance from Elizabethtown.

³ Four thousand three hundred Brunswick troops, says Irving, and nearly thirteen thousand Hessians, had entered the British service. Some of these were now on their way to America. They made their appearance on the 15th of August, 8,000 strong.

The Congress has greatly increased the American Army,¹ so that with the blessing of God, I hope the ministerial army will be disappointed the present campaign. I long to see vital piety abound and true gallantry prevail;—then would I pronounce America blessed and her sons and daughters free. O that the dear companion of my life might honor Jesus with the gift of her heart! How readily would He receive it, and comfort her under all her trials, and furnish her for happiness in this or the other world.—June 10. Since commencing this letter nothing extraordinary has transpired. If you can have a safe conveyance, I should be glad if you would send me Ebenezer Bradford's note, which I left in the little trunk. My seventh letter I sent to Mr. Brown, in Providence, with a canister of tea, which letter he was not to send, unless he had an opportunity to send the canister. I trust you have received the letter I sent by Mr. Stillman to Boston, by whom also I sent you something for a gown to remember me by, also something for one of our sons, a gown. Things are excessively dear here. However, if you should want anything which you cannot conveniently get in Haverhill or Boston, be so kind as to let me know it, and if I can I will procure the same for you. Perhaps some articles may be cheaper here than at Haverhill. What supplies have our people on Lord's Days? I hope you and our dear little ones are well. Kiss them both for me. Please to remember me to all friends in Haverhill.

From your loving companion in life,

HEZEKIAH SMITH.

Continuing now the diary:—

Friday, June 7, and Sat., 8. Attending my duty with my regiments and preparing for the Sabbath.—Sat., 9. Preached in the forenoon in Mr. Gano's pulpit, from Luke 12: 40, and in the afternoon in the camp, from Psa. 45: 3.—Mon., 10. Visited the General Hospital.—Tue., 11. Began to study anatomy when not engaged.—Wed., 12. Besides the Chaplain's duty, preached in the evening, from Isa. 55: 3, in Mr. Gano's pulpit.—Thurs., 13, Fri., 14, and Sat., 15. In my study and performing

¹ At the time of Washington's arrival in New York, the aggregate force in the city and its environs and on Long Island, Staten Island, and elsewhere, says Irving, amounted to a little more than ten thousand men; some of these were on the sick list, others absent on command, or on furlough; there were but eight thousand available and fit for duty. On the 21st of May, Washington left New York to meet the Congress at Philadelphia. In consequence of his representation it was voted and resolved, that the army at New York should be reinforced with thirteen thousand eight hundred militia.

Chaplain's duty.—*Sab., 16.* Preached one sermon to my regiments in camp from, *Psa. 45: 13*, and one in Mr. Gano's pulpit, from *Rom. 14: 11.* *Mon., 17, Tues., 18, Wed., 19, Thurs., 20, Fri., 21, Sat., 22.* Performing Chaplain's duty.—*Sab., 23.* Preached in the forenoon in Mr. Gano's pulpit, from *1 John 2: 6*, and in the afternoon to my regiments in Camp. In the evening, I married Stephen Oliver of New Haven, and Nancy Reynolds of New York. Also John Voeshi and Hannah Sullivan, both of New York. Both couples were published three times in Mr. Gano's pulpit.—*Mon., 24, Sat., 29.* Performing Chaplain's duty.

During this week he wrote another letter to his wife:

CAMP, NEW YORK, *June 27, 1776.*

MY DEAR HEPHIZIBAH: I wrote an answer to your kind letter last Monday, inclosed with one to Mr. McFarland. Through divine goodness I am in health. Hope you and our dear little ones now enjoy the same blessing, though it was otherwise when you wrote. In my last I informed you that there had been a plot¹ formed in this city to destroy our generals, and blow up the magazine, but that it had been providentially discovered. The mayor of the city, amongst others, is in confinement. I hope they will meet with their just reward. They are now under examination daily. The British fleet has not yet arrived.² Our army is strong, and great preparations are making in this place for the enemy. I hope you will under all your trials look to God for a sanctified improvement thereof. Oh, that your soul might live in Jesus! I should be glad to hear from you by every opportunity. I send this by way of Boston.

From your loving husband,

HEZEKIAH SMITH.

P. S.—Pray procure some good help to be with you steadily, and don't expose yourself to any unnecessary hardships. Remember me

¹ Speaking of this plot Bancroft says: "A secret plot was fostered by Tryon, who ever unscrupulous and indefatigable, from on board the 'Duchess of Gordon,' sought through the Royalist mayor of the city of New York, and others, to prepare a body of conspirators, who should raise an insurrection in aid of Howe on his arrival, blow up the magazines, gain possession of the guns, and seize Washington and his principal officers." Two or three of Washington's guard were implicated, and one, an Irishman, was afterwards hung in the presence of twenty thousand people. This was the first military execution of the Revolution.

² Smith refers here to Lord Howe, who, with his fleet, reached Staten Island on the evening of July 12.

to Mr. White and wife, Esquire White and family, Aunt White, Mr. and Mrs. Duncan and family, Dr. Jonhonet and wife, and all friends, with Mrs. Owen, if at our house. I love you all, though I am providentially called from you at present. You may inform Esquire White that I received his letter, but have received none of Boston's wages, and am jealous whether I shall, as he wrote to me that he was not willing that Boston should have any part of them for spending money. I propose to do what I can to get what is due. I have spoken to Capt. Cogswell to inform him what the Esquire wrote to me. He said he had no right to pay Boston's wages to any one but to himself, unless Boston would consent; but that, if Boston was willing, he would pay them to me. Things are very dear here. I gave ten coppers yesterday for about a pint of strawberries. One may readily spend the most of his wages in this place, and some do the whole of their wages, I suppose, if not more. However, if we can but live and get the victory, it will be a favor. When we die we shall not want any of this world.

Continuing the diary:—

Sab., 30. Preached a sermon to the two regiments I serve, in camp, from Matt. 26: 52.—Mon., July 1, '76. Visiting the sick in the hospital, as usual on Monday.—Tues., 2. Col. Nixon's regiment moved from the Howary, where they had encamped, over to Governor's Island.—Wed., 3. Preached in the evening in Mr. Gano's meeting house, from Eph. 6: 11.—Fri., 5, Sat., 6. Something unwell, though kept about.—Sab., 7. Preached one sermon in Mr. Gano's pulpit in the forenoon, from 2 Col. 3: 17. Col. Nixon's regiment was so engaged in preparing against the enemy, should they make an attack, that it was judged advisable not to preach among them in the afternoon.—Mon., 8.—Thurs., 11. Visiting the sick and performing Chaplain's duty.—Fri., 12. Two ships of war and three tenders passed our works up the North River, notwithstanding a smart cannonading from our works.—Sat., 13. In my study and performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab., 14. It was rainy, which prevented my preaching to my regiment on Governor's Island, where there is no place to meet in fit for

¹ On the evening of this day Lord Howe reached Staten Island. "The gloom," says Bancroft, "that hung over the country was now deepening its shades; one British corps after another was arriving; the fleet commanded the waters of New York, and two ships of war, on the twelfth, passed the American batteries with very little injury, ascending the Hudson River for the encouragement of the disaffected, and totally cutting off all intercourse by water between Washington's camp and Albany."

public worship.—Mon., 15—Sat., 20. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab., 21. Began a sermon, from Psa. 84: 11, but did not finish or go through with the subject, by reason of a heavy shower, which interrupted us. In the afternoon I was taken ill with the diarrhœa.¹—Mon., 22—Sat., 27. Sick.—Sab., 28. Unable to preach.—Mon., 29—Wed., 31. Doctoring myself. The method I took to doctor myself.—Thurs., 25. In the evening I took 40 grains of Rhubarb and 10 grains of Sal Tartar in a glass of wine.—The next day, 26th, I took the infusion of the same quantity of Rhubarb and Sal Tartar in wine as the evening before.—The 27th. I took an ounce of Rochelle Salts.—The 28th. I got and took some Nitre drops.—29th. I took infusion of Rhubarb again, and continued to take my Nitre drops.—30th. Continued to take my Nitre drops and found myself much better.—Wed., 31, Thurs., Aug. 1, 1776, Fri., 2, Sat., 3. Unwell.—Sab., 4. Got Mr. David to preach for me on Governor's Island.—Mon., 5—Fri., 9. Unwell.—Sat., 10. In my chamber preparing for the Sabbath.—Sab., 11. Preached to my people on Governor's Island, from Jer. 31: 18.—Mon., 12—Fri., 17. Attended Chaplain's duty, though unwell.—Sab., 18. It being rainy prevented my preaching to my regiment.

It will be seen from Smith's diary thus far, that he was with Col. Nixon's regiment on Governor's Island from Tuesday, July 2, when the regiment "moved over from the Bowery, where they had been encamped." He continued on the Island preaching on the Lord's Day, when the weather or circumstances would allow. On the 19th of August he was obliged to leave his post for awhile, and seek, among his relatives in New Jersey, health and strength for future work. The biographers of Nixon,

¹ This was very prevalent at the time. More than 3,000 of the American Army lay sick, and their number was daily increasing. They were to be seen, says Bancroft, seeking shelter in every barn, or stable, or shed, and sometimes nestling in thickets and beside fences. Billious fever prostrated General Greene, and Sullivan was placed in command at Brooklyn. It is interesting in this connection, to observe how the Chaplain prescribed for himself. He had given previous attention to the study of medicine, and we learn from an entry in his diary, under date of June 11, that he was then studying anatomy. We thus learn incidentally how well qualified he was to take charge of the sick and the wounded in connection with his official duties.

who was made a Brigadier General on the 9th of August, 1776, all ascribe to him the honor of having been assigned by Washington to the command of this important post. Yet Bancroft makes no mention of his name. On the contrary, in speaking of the batteries at this time, he says:—"Two regiments, one of which was Prescott's, were all that could be spared to garrison Governor's Island."

The following is Mr. Smith's diary during the month that he was absent from the army:—

Mon., Aug. 19. Went to Lyon's Farms in New Jersey. Lodged there at Mr. Crane's.—Tues., 20. Went to Col. Smith's at Connecticut Farms.—Wed., 21. Went to my mother's at Cheapside.—Thurs., 22. Returned to Lyon's Farms.—Fri., 23. Went to Mr. Brooks.—Sat., 24. Went to Lyon's Farms.—Sabb., 25. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house at Lyon's Farms, from 1 John 5: 12, and Isa. 55: 5. Lodged that night at Col. Smith's.—Mon., 26. Went to Cheesequake's. Lodged at Capt. James Morgan's.—Tues., 27. Went to Mr. Morgan's at Middletown.—Wed., 28. Went to Mr. Cownover's, and lodged there two nights, and visited my old acquaintances.—Fri., 30. Went to Mr. Obadiah Bucklelew's in Clatsqually. Tarried there two nights.—Sabb., Sept. 1. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house there, from John 5: 12, and Titus 2: 14.—Mon., 2. At mother's.—Wed., 4. Went to Brother Elison's. Lodged there two nights and visited my relations and preached Thursday evening, from 1 John 5: 12.—Fri., 6. Went to Col. Smith's.—Sat., 7. At the Colonel's, my brother's.—Sabb., 8. Preached one sermon in the Baptist meeting house at Lyon's Farms, from Mal. 2: 6; and heard Mr. Winchester in the afternoon.—Mon., 9. Went to my mother's. Tarried there till Wednesday, when I went to Mr. Halsey's at Scotch Plains.—Thurs., 12. I preached a funeral sermon at Mr. Cholea's, occasioned by the death of his wife at Connecticut Farms. Then went to Col. Smith's.—Fri., 13. At the Farms.—Sat., 14. Went to my mother's at Cheapside.—Sabb., 15. Preached two sermons in Mr. Green's meeting house, in Hanover, from Mal. 2: 6, and Gal. 6: 15.—Mon., 16. Visiting my relations.

Mr. Smith returned to his regiment in New York, on Wednesday, Sept. 18, having been away from duty on

account of sickness just one month. During his absence the expected British reinforcements had arrived, increasing Howe's army on Long Island, to twenty thousand men, rank and file. On the 27th of August, was fought the disastrous battle of Long Island, and during the three days following occurred the masterly retreat of Washington across the East River. His diary thus continues:—

Tues., Sept. 17. Set out for the camp, having recovered of my illness. Got that evening a few miles from Newark.—Wed., 18. Got to my regiment then stationed at Harlem.¹—Thurs., 19. Our regiment moved near Fort Washington.—Fri., 20, Sat., 21. Officiated as Chaplain.—Sat., 22. Preached to my regiment, from Deut. 20: 4.—Mon., 23. In Camp.—Tues., 24, Wed., 25. Visiting the sick and wounded. Also, Thur., 26, Sat., 28. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab., 29. Omitted preaching to my regiment on account of rain.—Mon., 30, Tues., October

¹ On the evacuation of Long Island, the British took possession of the American works. On the 30th of Aug., Admiral Howe sailed up the bay with his fleet, and anchored near Governor's Island. Other vessels went around Long Island, and passed into East River from the Sound. On the 3d of Sept., nearly the entire British land force was on the Island. Perceiving this, Washington at once made arrangements for evacuating New York. The sick were taken to New Jersey, and the public stores were conveyed to Dobb's Ferry, twenty miles from the city. On the 13th, the main body of the American Army moved toward Mount Washington and King's Bridge, accompanied by a large number of Whigs with their families and effects. Washington made his headquarters on the heights of Harlem River, ten miles from the city. On the 21st of October, he left Harlem Heights for White Plains. On the 28th, a battle was fought, in which the loss was about three hundred on each side. On the 31st of Oct., Washington withdrew with his forces and encamped upon the heights of North Castle towards the Croton River.

The following graphic account of events during these eventful weeks is taken from the "Biographical Memoirs" of Rev. John Gano, a very rare book now, to which reference has already been made. "The war now coming on, obliged the Church to separate, and many removed from the city. I was invited by Mr. Peter Brown, of Horseneck, in the edge of Connecticut, to remove my family to his house, as he understood I was determined to remain in the city till the enemy entered it. . . . The enemy's shipping took possession both of the North and East Rivers, and clearly evinced their determination of landing their troops. This left me no possible opportunity of getting my household furniture; I was obliged therefore, to retire precipitately to our camp. The next day, after a little skirmishing, the British took possession of the city, and our army was driven to Harlem Heights. From thence, after a few more skirmishes, we had to retreat to King's Bridge, in West Chester, leaving in Fort Washington a garrison of about fifteen hundred men, all of whom, a little while after, fell a sacrifice to the British. From King's Bridge, we

1, 1776.—Thurs., 3. Visiting the sick and wounded.—Fri., 4. In the evening went to board at Michael Moore's in the English neighborhood in Bergen, in New Jersey.—Sat., 5. Visiting the sick.—Sab., 6. I preached a sermon, from Eph. 6: 11, to Col. Watt's regiment. The reason I did not preach to my regiment was that, having moved the day before, they did not have their tents fixed to defend them from the inclemency of the weather, and they were busy in fixing them.—Mon., 7, Sat., 12. About the camp.—Sab., 13. Preached a sermon to my regiment, from John 5: 12. The same night our regiment marched for Kingsbridge.—Mon., 14. I went up to Tappan, or Orange Town, to tarry there with the sick. Took my lodgings at Cornelius Bogart's.—Tues., 15—Sat., 19. Visiting the sick and studying.—Sab., 20. Preached a sermon at my lodgings to the soldiers and inhabitants, from Luke 12: 20.—Mon., 21—Sat., 26. Visiting the sick.—Sab., 27. Preached at Mr. Bogart's, from Rom. 15: 13.—Mon., 28. Visiting the sick, on which day Dr. Cushing died. The next day he was buried and I attended his funeral.—Wed., 30—Sat., Nov. 2. Attending my duty.—Sab., 3. Preached a sermon at Cornelius Bogart's, where I lived, to the soldiers and inhabitants, from Isa. 3: 14.—Mon., 4—Sat., 9. Engaged in visiting the sick, etc., in this place, for which purpose I am stationed here.—Sab., 10. Preached at Mr. Bogart's as usual, from Rev. 3: 20.—Mon., 11—Tues., 12. Set out for the regiment over King's Ferry. I went through Haverstraw, Peekskill, North Castle, and arrived to the regiment near White Plains,¹ on Wed., 13.—Thurs., 14—Sat., 16. About the camp and visiting the sick, etc.—Sab., 17. It was so cold and blustering that it was judged proper to have no public service. In the afternoon, I went to Col. Drake's. Lodged there.—Mon.,

retreated to White Plains, where Gen. Washington had the greater part of his army, excepting those that were employed in Pennsylvania. On the heights of White Plains, we had a warm, though partial battle; for not a third of our army, or probably of theirs, was brought to action. My station, in time of action, I knew to be among the Surgeons; but in this battle, I somehow got in the front of the regiment; yet I durst not quit my place, for fear of dampening the spirits of the soldiers, or of bringing on me an imputation of cowardice."

¹ During the few days that Smith was with his regiment at White Plains, Fort Washington, under command of Magaw, was attacked at four successive points by Howe's forces, and finally surrendered on the 16th of November. Washington, surrounded by several of his officers, was an anxious spectator of the battle from the opposite side of the Hudson. The killed and wounded of the royal army was more than five hundred. The Americans lost in the field 149, and they gave up 2,818 prisoners, besides valuable artillery, and some of their best arms. The minds of all patriots were filled with gloomy anticipations. The day following, Nov. 17, Washington commenced his memorable retreat through the Jerseys.

18. Went to Orangetown, to my lodgings at Cornelius Bogart's.—Tues., 19. About my lodgings.—Wed., 20. The King's troops landed on the west side of the river, opposite to Col. Philips's.—Thurs., 21. I was reconnoitering.—Fri., 22. I went with Doctor Joslyn to the New City to prepare places for our sick, who left Tappan, or Orange Town. The same day I went to board at Joseph Palmer's.—Sat., 23. Engaged in getting proper places for the sick.—Sab., 24. Visiting the sick, etc.—Mon., 25.—Sat., 30. Visiting the sick, etc.—Sab., Dec. 1. Preached in Chaceat meeting house, from Titus 2: 14.—Mon., 2.—Thurs., 5. Visiting the sick.—Fri., 6. Left the New City and went to Peekskill.—Sat., 7. Went to Mr. Ward's, in Bedford, where Mr. Gano lived.—Sab., 8. Preached two sermons in the neighborhood, one from Titus 2: 14, and the other from 1 Peter 2: 9.—Mon., 9. Went to Stamford.—Tues., 10. Went to Stratfield, and tarried at Esq. Nichols' till Thurs., when I went to Mr. Sabin's at New Haven.—Fri., 13. Went through West Haddam, over Connecticut River.—Sat., 14. Went to Capt. Hubbard's at Norwich.—Sab., 15. Preached a sermon at Norwich Landing, from Titus 2: 14. After sermon went to Mr. Dorrance's.—Mon., 16. Went to Attleborough.—Tues., 17. Went home to Haverhill.

Mr. Smith, to whom a furlough of six months had been granted, now applied himself to pastoral work. He had been absent from the people of his charge since the memorable nineteenth of April, when the yeomanry began to assemble in the vicinity of Bunker Hill. For the remainder of the week after his arrival he remained quietly at home, rejoicing in his family, and attending to the numberless details pertaining to his domestic affairs. On the following Lord's Day he preached two sermons to a thronged and expectant congregation, from Rom. 15: 13: "Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope, through the power of the Holy Ghost." We may be sure that the lessons of the war were not forgotten in these discourses, and that his people were led to "abound in hope," not only for themselves as believers, but for their bleeding and injured land.

Among the Smith papers is a carefully preserved document, bearing date, Jan. 1, 1777, being Mr. Smith's commission as Chaplain. A copy of this may fitly close the present chapter:

IN CONGRESS.

The delegates of the United States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of New-Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, to Hezekiah Smith, Gentleman, Greeting.

We, reposing especial trust and confidence in your patriotism, valor, conduct, and fidelity, do by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be Chaplain of a Battalion, whereof John Nixon, Esq., is Colonel, in the Army of the United States, raised for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of a Chaplain, by doing and performing all manner of things hereto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command, to be obedient to your orders as their Chaplain. And you are to observe and follow such orders and direction from time to time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United States, or Committee of Congress, for that purpose appointed, or Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States, or any other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust reposed in you. This Commission to continue in force until revoked by this or a future Congress. Dated at Boston, January 1, 1777.

By order of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*

Attest: CHARLES THOMSON, *Secretary.*

It will be observed in this carefully worded document, that Mr. Nixon is designated as Colonel. This had been his familiar title since the old French war. He was appointed Brigadier-General on the 9th of August, 1776, and continued to serve as such until his resignation in 1780. The printed record of the Journals of Congress reads:—

"Agreeably to the order of the day, Congress proceeded to the election of four Major-Generals and six Brigadier-Generals, when the following gentlemen were chosen:—William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Greene, Esquires, Major-Generals; James Read, John Nixon, Arthur St. Clair, Alexander McDougal, Samuel Holden Parsons, and James Clinton, Esquires, Brigadier-Generals." Notwithstanding this, in the next record of Congress where his name occurs, under date of Nov. 13, 1776, he is still designated as Colonel. It is probable that journalists were not so particular in those days about titles and rank, the great interests with them being, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

The matter of appointing Chaplains in the Army was regarded by Washington as of vital importance, and in all his military campaigns he was careful to have religious service regularly performed in camp. His writings abound in allusions to this subject. In his "Orderly Book" for July 9, 1776, occurs the following:—"The Honorable Continental Congress having been pleased to allow a Chaplain to each regiment, the Colonels or commanding officers of each regiment are directed to procure Chaplains accordingly, persons of good characters and exemplary lives, and to see that all inferior officers and soldiers pay them a suitable respect. The blessing and protection of heaven are at all times necessary, but especially so in times of public distress and danger."

In the Journals of Congress, under date, Tuesday, May 27, 1777, we find it, "Resolved, That for the future, there be only one Chaplain allowed in each brigade of the army, and that such Chaplain be appointed by Congress; That each brigade Chaplain be allowed the same pay, rations, and forage allowed to a

Colonel in the said corps; That each brigadier-general be requested to nominate and recommend to Congress a proper person for Chaplain to his brigade; and that they recommend none but such as are clergymen of experience, and established public character for piety, virtue, and learning."

Only a partial record is made of these appointments. Among the Smith papers is a list of sixteen Major-Generals, twenty-one Brigadier-Generals, thirteen Brigade-Majors, and twenty-one Brigadier-Chaplains in the army, Aug. 17, 1778. The names of these twenty-one Brigade Chaplains, or as Smith designates them, Brigadier Chaplains, are as follows: David Avery, Enos Hitchcock, H Ezekiah Smith, William Vanhorn, of Pennsylvania; Israel Evans, of New Hampshire; Chas. Thompson, of Rhode Island; Timothy Dwight, John Ellis, of Connecticut; John Gano, of New York; Andrew Hunter, of New Jersey; Robert Blackwell, David Jones, William Rogers, of Pennsylvania; James Francis Armstrong, Joseph Montgomery, of Maryland; Bolman, David Griffith, John Hurst, of Virginia; Adam Boyd, of North Carolina; Alexander McWhorter, of the Artillery; and Henry Miller, Chaplain to the German troops. Of these twenty-one Chaplains, six only are included in Headley's "Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution," viz., Avery, Dwight, Evans, Gano, Hurst, and McWhorter. Six belonged to the Baptist denomination, and are all included in Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit," viz., Gano, Jones, Rogers, Smith, Thompson, and Vanhorn. Five were Congregationalists, viz., Avery, Dwight, Ellis, Evans, and Hitchcock. Three were Presbyterians, viz., Armstrong, McWhorter, and Montgomery. Griffith and Blackwell were Episcopalians. Concerning

the religious belief of the remaining five, we have been unable to obtain reliable information. Nearly one-third of the entire number, it will be observed, were Baptists. A glorious record for a feeble denomination, then struggling as it were for an existence, and a good illustration of the zeal and determination with which both ministers and members of the churches labored in the cause of freedom.¹ Well might Washington write after the war, as he did to Samuel Harriss, Chairman of the Committee of the United Baptists of Virginia:—"While I recollect with satisfaction, that the religious Society of which you are members, have been, throughout America, uniformly and almost unanimously, the firm friends to civil liberty, and the persevering promoters of our glorious Revolution, I cannot hesitate to believe that they will be faithful supporters of a free, yet efficient general government. Under the pleasing expectation, I rejoice to assure them that they may rely upon my best wishes and endeavors to advance their prosperity."

¹ There were other Baptist Chaplains in the American Army besides those whom Smith designates as Brigade Chaplains in 1778. Hon. Horatio Gates Jones, LL.D., of Philadelphia, in a communication recently sent me, refers to the Rev. Ebenezer David, a graduate of Rhode Island College, to whom I have already referred in this chapter. He was of Welsh origin, and a native of Delaware. The Rev. David Jones, whose life is given in Cathcart's "Baptist Encyclopedia," also a native of Delaware, was a Chaplain and served during the entire war. He served under Col. St. Clair, Gen. Horatio Gates, Gen. Wayne, and was with the army at Valley Forge. He delivered on various occasions patriotic addresses, and he was highly respected and trusted by the Commander-in-Chief. For further information on this subject see a work entitled, "The Baptists and the American Revolution." By the Rev. William Cathcart, D. D. 12mo. American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia.

CHAPTER V.

**SCHUYLER—GATES—BATTLE OF STILLWATER—BENEDICT ARNOLD
—ARMY ORDERS—SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE AT SARATOGA—
ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS DELIVERED IN CAMP.**

1777—1779.

Summary of events during furlough—Return to the army—General Nixon's home—Wilbraham—Half Moon Point—Fort Edwards—Jones' Mill in Kingsbury—Burgoyne's movements—Letter from Smith to his wife—Summary from July 22 to August 14—Acts as Aid-de-Camp—In charge of the sick and wounded—Profane conduct of General Schuyler—Unpopularity of Schuyler with the New England troops accounted for—Superseded by Gates—Satisfaction on the part of the American Army—Thatcher's military Journal—Battle of Bennington—Colonel Baum's instructions as found among the Smith papers—Positive assurance of Burgoyne's intention to reach Albany within a fortnight—Letter from Smith to his wife, dated September 13—General Gates' army orders for same date—Sermon to his Brigade next day, Sabbath, September 14—Army orders for September 16 and September 18—Bancroft's account of impending conflict—Smith's account of the great battle of Stillwater, September 19—General Arnold's part in—Conflicting accounts of historians—Gordon—Wilkinson—Allen—Bancroft—Murray—Hall—Stedman—Morse—Hamilton—Varrick—Livingston—Irving—Lossing—Isaac N. Arnold—Smith's simple statement—Army orders for September 26 and September 28—Letter to his wife—Love for his home and people—Order of General Nixon—Sermon on profanity—Address by General Nixon, dissuading the men whose service had expired from leaving—Second great battle of Stillwater, October 7—Details—Army orders for October 12—Deserter from the enemy saves the American Army from a terrible loss—Army orders for October 13—Bancroft—Army orders for October 17—Surrender of Burgoyne and his army at Saratoga, October 17—Details—Peter Harwood's Journal as given in Smith's Diary—Letter from Smith to his wife, dated October 23—Headquarters in Albany—Furlough of four months, from December 12—Arrival home—Address delivered by Chaplain Smith, in camp, on the second anniversary of the surrender of Burgoyne, Sunday, October 17, 1779.

While Mr. Smith was quietly pursuing his accustomed work at Haverhill, important events were transpiring at the seat of war. The retreat of Washington through the Jerseys, after the disastrous battle of Long Island, and the surrender of Fort Washington, had been followed

by the memorable Crossing of the Delaware, the successive victories at Trenton and at Princeton, and the subsequent evacuation of New Jersey by the British. In Connecticut, a detached corps of eighteen hundred men, under the notorious Tryon of New York, had destroyed the military stores at Danbury, and burned the village, and had been repulsed and driven back to their ships by Arnold. In the North, Burgoyne, with his large and well appointed army, together with the savage Indians as allies, was on his march from Canada by way of Lakes Champlain and George, to join the forces of Clinton at Albany, and thus "end the war." Ticonderoga, which had cost the English Government £8,000,000 sterling, and which, in the beginning of the contest, had surrendered to the brave Ethan Allen "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," was now in peril, and about to be retaken by the British forces on their triumphant march towards the Hudson. Mr. Smith's furlough having expired, he again set out for the army. His diary for the present campaign, which he kept with great fullness, and preserved with unusual care, thus commences:—

June the 17th, 1777. I set out for the army. Got that day to Thomas Osgood's in Andover, where I tarried till the next day, being unwell.—Wed., 18. Went to Capt. Butler's in Concord.—Thurs., 19. Went to Gen. Nixon's in Sudbury.¹—Fri., 20. Went to Rev. Foster's in Leicester.—Sat., 21. Went to Deacon Fide's in Wilbraham.—Sabb., 22. Preached two sermons, at the Rev. Clark's, to the Baptist Society² in Wilbraham, one from Mat. 22: 42, and another from Titus

¹ Gen. Nixon was born in Framingham, which was incorporated as a town in 1700. The same year "Sudbury Farms," a large tract of land northeast of Framingham, was annexed by the Legislature to the new township. This is that part of the town where Nixon, it appears, resided, and which Mr. Smith calls Sudbury.

² The First Baptist Church in Wilbraham was constituted in 1768, and the year

2: 24.—Mon., 23. It being rainy, and I not well, tarried at Deacon Ede's till afternoon; then went to Mr. Purchard's, through Springfield.—Tues., 24. Went through Kent, Turkey Hill, Lyonsburg, over Sntridge Bridge, New Hartford, to Litchfield. Lodged there.—Wed., 25. Went by Raumaug Iron Works, Bull's Iron Works, through Dover.—Thursday, 26. Went to Peekskill and took lodgings with Gen. Nixon.—Friday, 27, Saturday, 28. In camp.—Sabbath, 29. Preached one sermon to Col. Nixon's regiment, from Ps. 108: 13.—Mon., 30, Tues., 1st of July, Wed., 2, Thurs., 3, Fri., 4. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Sat., 5. Set out with Gen. Nixon for Albany. That night lodged in the Highlands.—Sab., 6. Got to Fishkill, and lodged there.—Mon., 7. Embarked for Albany on board the Nancy, commanded by Capt. Beekman. Got to Albany on Tuesday afternoon.—Wed., 9. Tarried in Albany.—Thurs., 10. Went to Half Moon.¹—Fri., 11. Went through Stillwater to Saratoga.—Sat., 12. Went to Fort Edward.²—Sab., 13. The brigade were ordered to march to Fort Anne.³—Mon., 14. I remained at Fort Edward with the baggage and artillery, and performed Chaplain's duty amongst those left.—Tues., 15, Wed., 16, Thurs., 17. Tarried with the party left and the baggage.—Fri., 18. Went with the baggage and party to Kingsbury, where the brigade was encamped.—Sat., 19. Preparing for the Sab-

following it was received into the Warren Association. The Rev. Seth Clark, who was for many years their Pastor, was ordained, June 13, 1770.

¹ Half Moon Point, or Waterford, so called from the name of Henry Hudson's ship, the Half Moon.

² The village of Fort Edward, 47 miles above Albany, on the Hudson, is rendered memorable by the tragic fate of the beautiful Jane M'Cra, who was scalped by the Indians, in the service of the British, on the 27th of July, 1777, while on their way toward Sandy Hill, for Burgoyne's camp. At the time of this event the American Army under Schuyler was encamped at Moses' Creek, five miles below Fort Edward.

³ Fort Anne is on Wood Creek, eleven miles above Fort Edward. Looming, in his "Life and Times of Philip Schuyler," thus writes concerning this march:—"Schuyler also called earnestly upon General Nixon to push on, by forced marches, from Albany, with the troops he brought up from Peekskill. 'The least delay,' he said, 'in marching up your brigade, will certainly be attended with the most fatal consequences. Let me therefore entreat you to march night and day to come up with me.' But he was no less than four days marching the forty-six miles. 'From the slowness with which he moved,' Schuyler wrote to Washington, 'I was led to conclude that he was at the head of a formidable body, but, to my great mortification, I find the whole to consist of five hundred and seventy-five, rank and file, fit for duty, and eleven sick; several of them are negroes, and many of them young, small, and feeble boys.' This force he immediately ordered to Fort Anne, to assist in putting obstacles in the way of Burgoyne's advance." (Vol. II., pp. 225-26.)

bath.—Sat., 20. Preached one sermon to Gen. Nixon's brigade, from Matt. 8: 34.—Mon., 21. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Tues., 22. We had, *i. e.*, our brigade, a skirmish with the Indians near Jones' Mill, in Kingsbury,¹ where Col. Nixon's horse was killed by the enemy under him, and we lost six men besides the wounded. We maintained our ground and repulsed the enemy. In the evening we returned to Fort Edward, and Wed., 23, we went to Skenckill, where we tarried till Monday, 28, crowded in a small space of ground. Then were ordered to Moses' Creek (Gen. Arnold had the command of Gen. Learned's and Gen. Nixon's brigades at that time). There we tarried until Wed., 30, when we were ordered to Fort Miller.—Thurs., 31. We were ordered to Saratoga, and encamped on Gen. Schuyler's land near his house in that place.—Friday, 1st of August. (I forgot to mention that last Lord's Day, which was the 27th ult., I attended the funeral

¹ Two miles north of this village is the spot where a bloody battle was fought in the French War, in the month of August, 1758, between a body of troops under Major Rogers and Putnam, and five hundred French and Indians under Moland. For the better understanding of the diary at this point it may be stated in brief, that Burgoyne issued his pompous and threatening proclamation at Crown Point on the 29th of June; that on the 1st of July his entire army encamped before Ticonderoga; that on the 2d of July Generals Phillips and Frazer took possession of Mount Hope, and on the 5th, batteries were erected on the summit of Fort Defiance; that on the 6th, St. Clair, having an inefficient force of men, poorly armed and provisioned, abandoned Ticonderoga, and fled under cover of night toward Fort Edward by way of Castleton and Skenesborough, the British eagerly pursuing; and that Schuyler, with disheartened and daily diminishing forces, was endeavoring, to use his own words, "to dispute every inch of ground with General Burgoyne, and retard his descent into the country as long as possible." Losing thus writes of the American Army at this time:—"It was because of this untenable state and position of Fort Edward, that Schuyler withdrew the main body of his army to Moses' Creek, four miles below, at about the time when Burgoyne advanced from Skenesborough; and it was the utter ignorance that prevailed concerning the fortifications of the old French and Indian War, which Schuyler's enemies took advantage of when condemning him for abandoning Fort Edward and retreating down the Hudson, as he did a few days after this letter. (Letter to Washington, July 26.) He had no other alternative, if he would save his little army and more effectually retard the progress of Burgoyne. His militia were in almost continual panic-fear, owing to the known presence of large parties of Indians, who were now and then seen prowling near the camps, and they were continually leaving for their homes. On the 20th of July, when Burgoyne's forces were gathering near Fort Edward, such a panic seized about three hundred of the militia of the extreme front in consequence of a few shots from a small party of Indians—not more than fifty in number—that they fell back pell-mell toward the main army, yet at Moses' Creek, breaking through the thin brigade of General de Fermoy, and a body of militia, and throwing the whole into disorder."—"Life and Times of Philip Schuyler." Vol. II., page 249.

of Messrs. Conny, McRay, and a Lieutenant in our army, who were killed and scalped by the Indians, besides other abuses on their bodies.)
 —Sat., 2. Performing Chaplain's duty in Gen. Nixon's brigade.—
 —Sat., 3. Left Saratoga and went to Stillwater, where we tarried till the 14th inst. I performed Chaplain's duty in Gen. Nixon's brigade to which I am Chaplain.—Sat., 10. I preached a sermon to the brigade, from Gal. 5. 13.

The following letter to his wife was written at this time:—

CAMP STILLWATER, Aug. 6, 1777.

MY DEAR HEZEKIAH:—The inclosed letter contains the most interesting intelligence which I have to communicate. This may let you know that I still, through the divine favor, enjoy a very good state of health. I hope you and the dear little ones enjoy the same favor. We came to this place last Lord's Day evening, but how long we shall tarry here I cannot say. Our State of Massachusetts Bay is shamefully deficient in her number of Continental troops. We have not one half our number here yet, and what will be the consequence I cannot say. Hope kind Providence will excite our people to a more vigorous exertion than heretofore, and that a glorious event in favor of America will yet take place this present campaign. I am yet sanguine in my expectations and trust the American arms will be victorious. Fly Dr. How I send you thirty pounds, lawful money, instead of forty dollars mentioned in the inclosed letter. Whenever you desire to drop me a line you may send it to the Post Office in Boston by John White. From thence, it will come safe to me. Stillwater, where we now are, is called twenty-two miles from Albany. Lieut. Sweet is well. Sergeant Louges has been very ill with the fever and ague, but is almost well. Our Haverhill friends in general are in health. I hope kind Providence will preserve us in health to a happy meeting in his own due time. In all our pursuits we ought to remember the Lord, and seek those things which tend to his glory and the good of our souls. My compliments to all friends.

From your loving husband,

HEZEKIAH SMITH.

Instead of going on with his diary, the Chaplain at this point recapitulates, and gives a clear and succinct account of movements from Tuesday, July 22, to Thursday, August 14th:—

I would here observe our movements in retreating from Kingsbury, under the direction of Gen. Schuyler, to Stillwater. After an engagement with the enemy on Tues., 22d ult., at Kingsbury, our baggage was removed with all the tents, etc., to Fort Edward. Our brigade left their ground, after repulsing the enemy, about dusk; and were ordered to march to an height about one-half or three-quarters of a mile from where our tents were carried. So that the brigade could not have the benefit of them that night; but after the fatigue of fighting and marching, were obliged to lie in the open air under a heavy dew. The brave Gen. Nixon, who scorned to shrink from danger, or screen himself from hardship, took his lot in the open field with his brigade, without a cloak or great coat to cover him, and many of the soldiers without a tight busied coat on.—Wed., 23. Retreated to Snenkill. Here we were crowded with Gen. Learned's brigade in a small space of ground not large enough for one brigade, the river on one side and thick wood on two sides, where, in my opinion, 500 of the enemy might have drove, taken, and destroyed both brigades. However a kind Providence did not suffer them to attack us in that situation. From this miserable situation, we were removed the 27th to Moses' Creek, where we encamped in the woods. The Indians around would fire on our sentinels. From this place we, with several brigades, were ordered to Fort Miller, the 30th. Our brigade brought up the rear. We were also ordered to tarry till all the horses were sent off, which detained them till dark. The enemy was in our rear, and drove in our rear guards; upon which I was sent by Gen. Nixon to Gen. Schuyler,¹ to inform him of a large body of the enemy near; but he neither sent his Aid-de-camp, nor went himself, nor sent any troops to cover their retreat, supposing our brigade should have been worsted with a superior number or strength. After our arrival at Fort Miller, which was about 10 o'clock at night, our brigade was ordered about half a mile as an advanced picket, directly from the river and the tents, etc., having nothing but the heavens to cover them. Some of the men had been without victuals 24 hours. We were ordered from thence to Saratoga the 31st, where we remained till the 3d of August, which was Lord's Day, and a very awful day on account of Gen. Schuyler's con-

¹ It would seem from his diary, that Mr. Smith did not always confine his duties to the Chaplaincy. It is evident that he was not unfrequently with his commanding officer in the place of danger. Here he acted as Aid-de-camp. After the disastrous battle of Long Island he was placed in charge of the sick and wounded, ministering to their physical as well as spiritual wants, and providing for them suitable accommodations.

duct, who acted more like a mad man than the Commander-in-Chief. He beat some of the soldiers who were performing their duty. He cursed, damned, swore, profaned the name of God in a most horrible manner, and swore by his Maker, that if he could light on the Major of our brigade, he would split his head open and scatter his brains upon the ground. He attempted to thrust an officer through, and afterwards made his brags of it, that it was happy for the officer and unlucky for the service that he had not killed him. Many particulars of like conduct. The 3d of Aug., we were ordered to Stillwater, where we arrived about 11 or 12 o'clock at night. No ground being set out for our encampment, and our baggage not being found, our men were obliged to lodge in the open air again. Thus the brigade has been harassed besides skirmishes, hunger, and ill-treatment by the Commander-in-Chief, Schuyler.

It is very evident from the narrative thus far, that both the Chaplain and his General shared in the feeling prevalent among the New England troops towards the "Commander-in-Chief." Indeed he was suspected of a want of personal courage. "To the Continental troops of St. Clair," says Bancroft, "who were suffering from the loss of their clothes and tents, he was unable to restore confidence; nor could he rouse the people." He allowed the militia to go home, "and then called upon Washington to supply their places by troops from the South of Hudson River, saying to his friends that one Southern soldier was worth two from New England." In the beginning of the war, when proposed for the third Major-General, Montgomery hesitated, suggesting that he lacked nerve. "Doubts existed in Congress," says Bancroft, "and the vote for him was not unanimous. Born to opulence, accustomed to ease, of a generous, open, and unsuspecting nature, infirm in health, choleric and querulous, Schuyler was ill suited to control undisciplined levies of turbulent freemen, or penetrate the wiles of a crafty foe;

but he had personal integrity, social consideration, superiority to envy, and patriotism so sincere that he zealously used his credit, influence and connections to bring out the resources of his native province." Wilkinson, who carried the dispatches to Congress on the surrender of Burgoyne, and whose voluminous memoirs in three large volumes were published in 1816, thus writes concerning him:—"It has been remarked by the American historiographers, that Gen. Schuyler did not possess popularity in the New England States, but they profess their ignorance of the cause; yet, with due deference, I think it may be traced to certain jealousies which had subsisted between the Colonies of New York and New England respecting territorial limits, anterior to the Revolution, which had been strongly excited, about the period I am speaking of, by the pretensions of the Hampshire grantees, who had entered upon a tract of country claimed by the Government of New York, and which was subsequently erected into the State of Vermont. The rancor of civil feuds is increased by the approximation of the parties, and the line of demarkation being defined, individual exceptions cease. In this case, the controvertists were distinguished by the designation of Yankee and Yorker; somewhat may also be ascribed to social habits and manners; those of New England were, at that period, democratic and puritanical, whilst in New York they were courtly and aristocratic." It is not difficult, in view of Chaplain Smith's remarks, to account for General Schuyler's unpopularity¹ on grounds

¹ All writers agree in stating that Schuyler was personally unpopular with the New England troops, and that he was at times irritable, although not wanting in patriotism. Loosing, in his "Life and Times of Philip Schuyler," recently published, thus speaks of him in 1776:—"Suffering as he did, perplexed as he was by reasonable and unreasonable demands in every form, for help in the public service which he had no means for satisfying, and fretted continually by sectional jealousies

askle from those here given. The New England troops were not only brave, patriotic, and intelligent freemen, but they were devout and God fearing. They had left their farms and their homes from a sense of religious duty, and, like the soldiers under Cromwell, they fought trusting in the "God of battles," and relying upon the divine arm for success. A General supposed to be deficient in courage, and who "cursed, damned, and swore," was not the one to lead on and inspire with love and confidence the rank and file of troops composed of such material.

Continuing now the diary:—

The 14th of Aug., we left Stillwater, and went to the landing in the upper part of Half Moon.—Fri., 15, Sat., 16. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab., 17. Preached a sermon to Gen. Nixon's brigade, from Eccl. 8: 11.—Mon., 18. We went to the northernmost upland between the mouths of the Mohawk River, next to Half Moon, where we arrived in the afternoon. Had the encampment to lay out and the wood and brush to clear off before our marquees and tents could be pitched. The place for our encampment was a great thicket.—Tues., 19. Went to Albany. Visited Gen. Nixon, sick at Greenbush. Lodged with him at night.—Wed., 20. Visited the wounded and sick in the hospital at Albany, and then returned the same day to our camp.—Thurs., 21, Fri., 22, Sat., 23. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab., 24. Preached a sermon to our brigade, from Eccl. 9: 14, 15.—Mon., 25. In the camp. I forgot to mention, that on the 19th inst., Gen. Gates took the command¹ of this Northern Department, superseding Gen. Schuyler to our great satisfaction.²—Tues., 26, Wed., 27, Thurs., 28, Fri., 29, Sat., 30. Performing Chaplain's duty.

and mean slanders from the lips of low-bred people in high and low places, it is no wonder that General Schuyler won for himself, at this time, the character of an irritable and discourteous aristocrat, among those who had been made to feel the lash of his indignation in return for indignities. His condition and surroundings often led him to exercise a harshness toward his inferiors in rank which was foreign to his nature." (Vol. 2, page 43)

¹ Bancroft writes:—"On the nineteenth of August, Gates assumed the command of the Northern Army, which lay nine miles above Albany, near the mouths of the Mohawk."

² Doct. Thatcher in his celebrated "Military Journal," thus writes:—"Major-

On the 16th of August, the battle of Bennington, one of the most brilliant and eventful of the war, and which effectually crippled Burgoyne, cutting off his supplies, was won by husbandmen of New Hampshire, Vermont, and Western Massachusetts, under the command of the veteran Stark. In this engagement, Lieut. Col. Baum, the commander of the expedition which Burgoyne had sent out on the eleventh, "to aid Saint-Leger by a diversion, and fill his camp with draught cattle, horses, and provisions from the fabled magazines at Bennington," fell mortally wounded. Upon his person were found "Instructions" from the Lieutenant-General, which Chaplain Smith sends to his wife, under date, Aug. 30, 1777, with the following note:—"These instructions, which I send for your perusal, were given to the Commander of the forces which were defeated by General Stark's, as you may see, and were found in the Colonel's pocket, who was mortally wounded, and has since died. After letting those persons read them whom you shall see fit, please to keep them safe till I shall return. H. S."

These instructions, which are in Smith's handwriting, copied from the original, deserve a place in this connection, varying as they do somewhat from those in Burgoyne's "State of the Expedition from Canada as laid

General Horatio Gates has superseded General Schuyler as Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Department, and has passed through this city on his way to Stillwater. This appointment will be very satisfactory to our army, as General Gates has the respect and confidence of the New England troops." Bancroft writes:—"Burgoyne's Campaign had proceeded as foreshadowed by Washington; yet the anxious care of Congress concentrated itself there. On the first of August it relieved Schuyler from command by a vote to which there was no negative; and on the fourth, eleven States elected Gates his successor." And again:—"Gates had no fitness for command, and wanted personal courage; the removal of Schuyler was passionately resented by a few New Yorkers; and Arnold, who assumed the part of Schuyler's friend, was quarrelsome and insubordinate; but the patriotism of the army was so deep and universal, that it gave no heed to doubts or alterations.

before the House of Commons"—a quarto volume, with maps and illustrations, published in 1780.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR LIEUT.-COL. BAUM.

The object of your expedition is to try the affections of the country, to discover the councils of the enemy, to mount the regiment of dragoons, to complete Peters' Corps, and to obtain large supplies of cattle, horses, and carriages.

The several corps, of which the inclosed is a list, are to be under your command. The troops must take no tents, and what little baggage is carried by officers must be on their own pack horses. You are to proceed from Batten-Kill to Arlington, and take post until the detachment of the Provincials under the command of Captain Sherwood shall join you from the Southward. You are then to proceed to Manchester, where you will again take post so as to secure the pass of the mountains on the road from Manchester to Rockingham; from thence you will detach the Indians and Light Horse to the Northward towards Otter Creek. On their return, and receiving intelligence that no enemy is upon Connecticut River, you will proceed to Rockingham, where you will take post. This will be the most distant part of your expedition, and must be proceeded upon with caution, as you will have the defile of the mountains behind you, which may make a retreat difficult. You must therefore endeavor to be well informed of the force of the enemy's militia in the neighboring country. Should you find it may with prudence be effected, you are to remain there while the Indians and Light Troops are detached up the river. You are afterwards to descend the river to Brattlebury, and from that place by quickest march you are to return by the great road to Albany. During your whole progress, your detachments are to have orders to bring unto you all horses fit to mount the dragoons under your command, or to serve as pack horses to the troops, together with as many saddles and bridles as may be found. The number of horses requisite, besides those necessary for mounting the regiment of dragoons, ought to be thirteen hundred. If you can bring more for the use of the army, it will be so much the better. Your parties likewise are to bring in wagons and other convenient carriages, with as many draught oxen as will be necessary to draw them; and all cattle fit for slaughter, milch cows only excepted, which are to be left for the use of the inhabitants. Regular receipts,

in the form hereto subjoined, are to be given in all places where any of the above mentioned articles are taken, to such persons as have remained in their habitations, and otherwise complied with the terms of General Burgoyne's manifesto; but no receipts are to be given to such persons as are known to be acting in the service of the rebels. As you will have with you persons perfectly acquainted with the abilities of the country, it may perhaps be advisable to take the several districts with the proportion of the several articles, and limit the hours for their delivery; and should you find it necessary to move before such delivery can be made, hostages of the most respectable persons should be taken to procure their following you the next day. All possible means should be used to prevent plundering. As it is probable Capt. Sherwood, who is already detached from the Southward, will join you at * * * and will drive in a considerable number of horses and cattle; you will therefore send in the cattle to the army with a proper detachment from Peters' corps to cover them, in order to disencumber yourself, but you must always keep the regiment of dragoons complete. The dragoons themselves must ride and take care of the horses of the regiment. Those horses which are destined for the use of the army must be tied together by strings of ten each, in order that one man may lead ten horses. You will give the unarmed of Peters' corps to conduct them, and inhabitants whom you can trust. You must always keep your camp in good position, and at the same time where there is pasture. And you must have a chain of sentinels round your cattle when grazing. Col. Skene will be with you as much as possible, in order to assist you with his advice, to help you to distinguish the good subjects from the bad, to procure the best intelligence of the enemy, and to choose the people who are to bring me accounts of your progress and success. When you find it necessary to halt a day or two, you must always entrench the camp of dragoons, in order never to risk an attack or assault from the enemy. As you will return with the regiment of dragoons mounted, you must always have a detachment of Capt. Fraser's, Peters' corps in the front of the column, and the same in rear, in order to prevent your falling into an ambuscade. When you march through the woods, you will use all possible measures to make the country believe that the troops under your command are the advance corps of the army, and that it is intended to pass to Connecticut on the road to Boston. You will likewise insinuate that the main army from Albany is to be joined at Springfield by a corps

of troops from Rhode Island. It is highly probable that the corps under the command of Mr. Warner, now expected to be at Manchester, will retreat before you; but if they, contrary to expectation, be able to collect a great force and post themselves advantageously, it is left to your own discretion to attack them or not, always having in mind that your corps is too valuable to let any considerable loss be hazarded on this occasion. Should any corps be moved from Mr. Arnold's main army to intercept your retreat, you are to take as strong a post as the country will afford, and send the quickest intelligence to me; and you may depend on my making such movements as shall put the enemy between two fires, or otherwise effectually sustain you. It is imagined the progress of this expedition may be effected in about a fortnight, but every movement of it must depend on your success in obtaining such supplies of provisions as will enable you to subsist until your return to this army. In case you can get no more, and should the army not be able to reach Albany before your expedition shall be completed, I will find means to send you notice of it, and give your route another direction. All persons acting in the committee, or any officers under the direction of Congress, civil or military, are to be made prisoners. I heartily wish you success, and have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obt. humble Servt.,

J. BURGOYNE, *Lieut. Com.*

These instructions gave Gates positive assurance of the enemy's intention to reach Albany within a fortnight, to prevent which was now one main object. Returning to the diary:—

Sab., Aug. 31. Preached one sermon to Gen. Nixon's brigade, from 2 Chron. 32: 7, 8.—Mon., 1st of September, 1777, Tues., 2, Wed., 3, Thurs., 4, Fri., 5, Sat., 6. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab. 7. Preached a sermon to the brigade, from Eccl. 8: 12, 13.—Mon., 8. We decamped, and marched towards Stillwater.—Tues., 9. Got to Stillwater. Our army is healthy and in high spirits.—Wed., 10, Thurs., 11. Remained at Stillwater.—Fri. 12. Went up the river about 2½ or 3 miles.—Sat., 13. In my duty.

This day he addressed the following letter to his wife:—

CAMP STILLWATER, *Sept. 13, 1777.*

MY DEAR HEPHIZIBAH:—Your agreeable favor of the 1st instant came safe to hand by Mr. Ayer. I desire to bless God for his preserving goodness to you and our little ones. Hope health will be continued, which estimable blessing I enjoy. I am sorry to hear of Miss Polly Diman's indisposition. Hope God will raise her to health again. We are now on our march up the river to meet Mr. Burgoyne with his boasted strength. Expect soon to engage him, unless he should retreat. Our army is in good spirits; we have a good commander, Gen. Gates, and a large body of troops, so that I don't doubt of success, unless we should put our trust in the arm of flesh, which is forever attended with a curse. With the blessing of Heaven I expect our army will soon do something grand for the salvation of our country. This morning we had two prisoners brought to head quarters, of the British forces. I have nothing extraordinary to communicate since my last letter, which was dated the 6th of this instant. Are you like to get an outside garment for me to wear this winter? In your next pray let me know what clothes you are preparing for me. I am glad Brother Dean lives with you. Give my love to him, and tell him to take good care of you. My love to all friends. From your loving husband,

HEZEKIAH SMITH.

Among the Smith papers are Gen. Gates' army orders, which he probably read to the troops. They form a most important part of the history of this eventful campaign, and are introduced in the order in which they were given. The first is as follows:—

HEAD QUARTERS, NEAR STILLWATER.

Sept. 13, 1777.

GEN. GATES' ORDERS.

The General is exceedingly earnest in desiring the officers of every corps, to be very exact in keeping their men within their several encampments. The enemy defeated and disgraced at Bennington, disappointed and vexed at the unprosperous state of affairs, may think by one rash stroke to recover what they have lost, and like desperate gamblers, hazard all upon one throw. To defeat them is to finish the war in this Department. Great honor and renown will be given to this army, should we, by the blessing of Divine Providence, achieve so glo-

rious a victory. The plunder of all the enemy's baggage, camp, and artillery, must be the inevitable consequence of their overthrow. But these are trifling rewards in comparison with the praises of a grateful country, the happiness of a people born free, and the blessings of liberty entailed upon your posterity. These are the noble motives which will inspire every officer and soldier in this army, with the resolution to live victorious or to die free.

On the fourteenth, which was the Lord's Day, the Chaplain preached to his brigade, having, as he naively remarks in his diary, "Gen. Gates, Gen. Glover, Gen. Poor, and other respectable gentlemen for his hearers." The occasion was one of deep solemnity. Burgoyne, with his well appointed army and splendid train of artillery, had just crossed the Hudson, and the great conflict, for which so many on both sides had been anxiously looking, was at hand. We may be sure that he made earnest supplications to the "God of battles," and that as he announced for his text:—"Give us help from trouble, for vain is the help of man," that he struck the real key-note of success.

For the next four days the army, says the diary, "were much engaged in fortifying." On Tuesday, the following orders were issued. They do not imply cowardice, or convey any intimation that the commanding officer was unwilling to fight. On the contrary they have the ring of the true soldier and patriot.

HEAD QUARTERS, CAMP IN ADVANCE.

STILLWATER, *Sept. 17, 1777.*

GEN. GATES' ORDERS.

With the gallant appearance of the troops this morning, the General is satisfied that they mean to beat the enemy. By the best intelligence from Gen. Burgoyne's army it seems clear that they were yesterday marching this way. When the General is assured they continue their march, he will order the tents to be struck and the baggage

to be loaded. But the army may rely upon it, that he will not abandon this camp, until they submit to be defeated by an enemy in every respect their inferiors. This order to be read to the camp.

On Thursday another order was issued:—

HEAD QUARTERS, *Sept., 18, 1777.*

GEN. GATES' ORDERS.

The General gives his hearty and cordial thanks to the officers and soldiers of this army for the spirited appearance and victorious determination which marked every man's countenance this day. The much wished for opportunity of revenging the injuries of our oppressed country now presents itself. Let us embrace it, and hand in hand discharge this pleasing duty. The rewards of victory are peace and plenty domestic happiness, and the blessing of our wives and children and succeeding generations; whilst confusion, shame, disgrace, and the curses of posterity attend defeat. We will then victoriously perish or live victorious. The commanding officers of regiments are called on, earnestly entreated, and commanded not to allow more than one man to attend a baggage wagon, as the number which followed the baggage this day might change the fate of the battle.

"Meantime," writes Bancroft, "the army of Burgoyne, stopping to rebuild bridges and repair roads, advanced scarcely four miles in as many days. By this time the well chosen camp of the Americans had been made very strong; their right touched the Hudson, and could not be assailed; their left was a high ridge of hills; their lines were protected by a breastwork. Burgoyne must dislodge them, if he would get forward. His army moved on the nineteenth, as on former days, in three columns; the artillery, protected by Riedesel and Brunswick troops, took the road through the meadows near the river; the General in person led the centre across a deep ravine to a field on Freeman's farm; while Fraser, with his right, made a circuit upon the ridge, to occupy heights

from which the left of the Americans could be assailed. Indians, Canadians, and Tories hovered on the front and flanks of the several columns." Smith's account is as follows:—

Friday, Sept. 19. A warm battle was fought between Gen. Burgoyne's army and one division of our army commanded by Gen. Arnold. The action began early in the afternoon between Gen. Fraser's flying camp and Col. Morgan's Corps,¹ consisting of the rifle men, and our light infantry. At first we drove them back, and the firing ceased. The enemy being reinforced, they renewed the attack about half after three, which continued almost three hours, the firing being heavy and incessant. The evening closed the action. We lost sixty-four killed, two hundred and seventeen wounded, and thirty-eight missing.

This was the first of the two great battles fought on Bemis' Heights in Stillwater, which resulted in the surrender of Burgoyne. Smith, it will be remembered, was with the main body of the American Army composing the right wing, which consisted chiefly of Glover's, Nixon's, and Patterson's brigades, and was under the immediate command of Gen. Gates. The left wing, composed of Poor's brigade, New York regiments, Connecticut militia, Dearborn's infantry, and Morgan's riflemen, was commanded by Gen. Arnold. Concerning the part taken by Arnold in this engagement historians widely differ. The simple statement here recorded is:—
"Friday, Sept. 19. A warm battle was fought between Burgoyne's army and one division of our army commanded by Gen. Arnold." Gordon, who had excellent facilities for information, having resided in Massachu-

¹ Washington had culled from his troops five hundred riflemen, and formed them under Morgan into the best corps of skirmishers that had ever been attached to an army; Congress directed them to be sent immediately to assist Gates.—Bancroft's "History."

settles many years as Pastor of a Congregational Church, both before and during the war, in his account of the engagement thus writes:—"Arnold's division was out in the action, but he himself did not head them; he remained in camp the whole time." Wilkinson, the Adjutant General of Gates, in his "Memoirs," published forty years afterwards, says that "not a single general officer was on the field of battle the nineteenth of September, until the evening," and intimates that he himself chiefly conducted affairs. He further says, that when, toward evening, Gates and Arnold were together in front of the camp, Major Lewis came in from the scene of action, and announced that its progress was undecided. Arnold immediately exclaimed, "I will soon put an end to it," and set off in a full gallop from the camp. Gates dispatched an officer after him, and ordered him back. Paul Allen, whose "History of the American Revolution" was published in 1822, says:—"It has been remarked, and from a source which renders the fact unquestionable, that there was not a single general officer on the field of battle on this day. * * * Arnold would have been engaged, but, fearful of his rashness, Gen. Gates prohibited his interference." Bancroft, whose general accuracy and fairness are unquestioned, thus writes concerning this great battle of Sept. 19th:—"On the British side three Major Generals came on the field; on the American side not one, nor a Brigadier till near its close. The glory of the day was due to the several regiments which fought in unison, and needed only an able general to have utterly routed Burgoyne's division." And in a foot note he adds:—"Arnold was not on the field. So witnesses Wilkinson. So says Gordon. The

letters of Arnold and Gates admit of no other interpretation."

On the other hand, Murray, an English author, whose work entitled "History of the present War in America" was published in 1778, says:—"Arnold led on the enemy, and fought danger with an eagerness and intrepidity which, through much in his character, was at no time more eminently distinguished." This same account was published in the "Annual Register" for the year previous. Capt. Hall, who served under Howe, in his "History of the Civil War in America," published in 1780, says also that "Arnold headed the enemy during the action." Steadman, a British officer who served under Howe, Clinton, and Cornwallis, and a writer whose statements can be relied on, in his history of the war, published in 1794, says:—"The enemy were led to the battle by Gen. Arnold, who distinguished himself in an extraordinary manner." Dr. Morse, in his "Annals of the American Revolution," published in 1824, says further—"About 4 o'clock Arnold, with nine Continental regiments and Morgan's Corps, was completely engaged with the whole right wing of the British army." Hamilton, in his "History of the Republic of the United States," gives the following details:—"While the British left advanced, Gates remained in position until noon, resolved to receive them covered by his entrenchments, when Arnold, impatient for action, was permitted to advance. Morgan's rifles, thrown forward, drove the front picket of the right wing, pushed on impetuously, were for the moment repulsed, and retired upon a supporting party advanced by Arnold. Morgan rallied. Arnold now attempted Fraser's right. * * * Arnold then changed his front, and under cover of a thick wood, countermarched

to Fraser's left. * * * Four New England regiments under Lieut. Colonels Brooks, Cilley, and Scammell reinforced Arnold, who drove the enemy before him. * * * Arnold * * * bore off the honor of the day. Gates alone withheld the acknowledgment of his merits."

The statements of Colonels Varick and Livingston, as given by Isaac N. Arnold, in his recent "Life of Benedict Arnold," go to show that Arnold was on the field on the 19th of Sept., and that he led his troops. Livingston, afterwards a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, in a letter written to Schuyler from "Camp Bemis Heights," under date of Sept. 23d, four days after the battle, thus expresses himself:—"I am much distressed at Gen. Arnold's determination to retire from the army at this important crisis. His presence was never more necessary. He is the life and soul of the troops. Believe me, Sir, to him alone is due the honor of our late victory."

Colonel Varick, who was on Arnold's staff, and who was afterwards Mayor of New York, and Attorney General of the State, in a letter to Gen. Schuyler, dated "Camp near Stillwater, Sept. 19, 1777," giving a circumstantial account of the events of the day, says: "The General (Arnold), being informed of the approach of the enemy, ordered out Colonel Morgan's Corps. About three-quarters of an hour thereafter the General received intelligence that the enemy were coming down the woods in two divisions. Col. Cilley's battalion was ordered out; Col. Cook's regiment was ordered out; Col. Livingston was ordered on the right; Gen. Learned was ordered out; almost the whole of Arnold's division were engaged. We drove the enemy four times, etc."

The following remarkable statement appears in the

"Unpublished Recollections of the Campaign of 1777," by Capt. E. Wakefield, as vouched for by the Rev. Thomas Wakefield Goodspeed, of the Baptist Theological Seminary of Chicago, and published by I. N. Arnold in *United Service* for September, 1880. "A persistent effort has been made from the day of the battle to rob Arnold of the glory. Being attached to Dearborn's Light Infantry, which had a conspicuous part in the battles of the 19th of September, and the 7th of October, I had the opportunity of witnessing the principal movements of both, and therefore speak from personal knowledge. I shall never forget the opening scene of the first day's conflict. The riflemen and light infantry were ordered to clear the woods of the Indians. Arnold rode up, and with his sword pointing to the enemy emerging from the woods into an opening partially cleared, covered with stumps and fallen timber, addressing Morgan, he said, 'Colonel Morgan, you and I have seen too many redskins to be deceived by that garb of paint and feathers; they are asses in lions' skins, Canadians and Tories; let your riflemen cure them of their borrowed plumes.' And so they did; for in less than fifteen minutes the 'Wagon Boy,' with his Virginia riflemen, sent the painted devils with a howl back to the British lines. Morgan was in his glory, catching the inspiration of Arnold, as he thrilled his men; when he hurled them against the enemy, he astonished the English and Germans with the deadly fire of his rifles. Nothing could exceed the bravery of Arnold on this day; he seemed the very genius of war, infuriated by the conflict, and maddened by Gates' refusal to send reinforcements, which he repeatedly called for, and knowing he was meeting the brunt of the battle, he seemed inspired with the fury of a demon."

Washington Irving and Benj. J. Lossing¹ long ago vindicated Arnold's laurels on the faith of the "Schuyler manuscripts," yet the question still remains unsettled, if we may judge from John Austin Stevens' recent article in *The Magazine of American History* entitled, "Benedict Arnold and his Apologist," and the reply in the *United Service*, by the author of the "Life of Benedict Arnold." Notwithstanding the subsequent treason of Gen. Arnold, he was unquestionably, at this time, the Ney of the Revolution. When therefore a statement is made by so intelligent and competent a person as Chaplain Smith, that the great battle in question, "was fought between Burgoyne's Army and one division of our army commanded by Gen. Arnold," we may readily believe that he gave the orders to his subordinate officers in person, that he inspired the troops by his presence, and led them on to victory.

Continuing now the diary:—

Saturday, 20th, Sab., 21. We expected another engagement, and were so alarmed and preparing to meet the enemy, that I did not preach. Mon., 22.—Sat., 27. Often alarmed and preparing for battle. Frequently taking prisoners and receiving deserters.—Sab., 28. Alarmed again and so prevented from preaching.—Mon., 29, Tues., 30, Wed., 1st of October, 1777, Thurs., 2, Fri., 3, Sat., 4. Performing Chaplain's duty. Took a considerable number of prisoners this week and several deserted to us.—Sab., 5. Preached a sermon to Gen. Nixon's brigade on Bemis' Heights, near Stillwater, from Prov. 10: 20. The same day we had a deserter come to us from Gen. Burgoyne's army.—Mon., 6. Col. Morgan with his Corps with others advanced

¹In his recent work to which we have already referred, he says:—"But for Arnold, on that eventful day, Burgoyne would doubtless have marched into Albany at the autumnal equinox, a victor. The battle was fought wholly by detachments from Arnold's division, excepting one regiment from another brigade; and to his skill and daring, which animated his troops, was chiefly due the credit of successfully resisting the invaders at Bemis' Heights." "Life and Times of Philip Schuyler." Vol. 2, pp. 348-9.

near the enemy's lines to draw them out, in order to give them battle, but the enemy declined rallying out.

The following army orders may be presented here:—

HEAD-QUARTERS, BENIS' HEIGHTS.

Sept. 26, 1777.

GEN. GATEY'S ORDERS.

By the conduct of the enemy, by their embarrassed circumstances, and by the desperate situation of their affairs, it is evident they must endeavor by one rash stroke to regain all they have lost. That failing them, utter ruin is inevitable. The General therefore entreats his gallant army that they, with exactness of discipline, by their alertness to fly to arms on all occasions, and particularly by their caution not to be surprised, will hold themselves in constant readiness, since Almighty Providence, if they deserve it, will bless their labors with victory.

HEAD-QUARTERS, BENIS' HEIGHTS.

Sept. 28, 1777.

GEN. GATEY'S ORDERS.

The General entreats the troops that they will if possible double their diligence. The enemy are at their last shift, and nothing but neglect and supineness on our part can repair their shattered fortune.

The following letter belongs here:

CAMP STILLWATER, Oct. 3, 1777.

MY DEAR HEPHIZIBAH: Since the battle mentioned in a former letter, we have either taken prisoners or had deserters come in from the enemy almost every day. I have expected a general engagement before now, but when it will take place I know not. By the best information the enemy's provisions grow short. I am in a good state of health, blessed be God for it! Hope you and the dear little ones enjoy the like favor. Our Haverhill friends are generally in health. I saw Mr. Heath's son the other day, who informed me that there was a revival of religion in Plaistow. Oh that Haverhill might be visited in the like gracious manner, and the dear companion of my bosom become a subject of divine grace. How is my pulpit supplied? Is it a healthy season in Haverhill? This day we had eight deserters come

in from Gen. Burgoyne's army. One day last week, we took upwards of forty prisoners. Our army is in high spirits. Capt. Eaton, your relation from Haverhill, is well and now with me. My dear, I often think of you, and sympathize with you in your present situation. I hope our kind God will graciously preserve, protect, and carry you through all your trials in future, and soon make you the happy mother of another fine child. My love to Master Dean, and accept the same from your tender loving husband,
HEZEKIAH SMITH.

Mr. Heath, to whom reference is had in the foregoing, was probably the son of Major General Heath, of Roxbury, Mass. It is interesting to observe how, in the midst of war, the mind of the Chaplain turns away from daily scenes of conflict and death, to his beloved pulpit at Haverhill, and to the dear ones at home, for whose temporal and spiritual welfare he manifests the most tender solicitude and care.

The following order from Gen. Nixon has the true New England ring. It is not difficult to account for its source, as well as for the language in which it is clothed.

BRIGADE ORDERS, BY GEN. NIXON.

Oct. 4, 1777.

The General being sensible from all the movements of the enemy, that a very obstinate and bloody engagement will soon take place, upon the issue of which the fate of thousands, if not of America, depends; and as the success of our arms, together with the valor and bravery of our troops, depends upon the blessing of the Most High God, he cannot but be astonished and concerned, to see so many of the troops under his command, neglecting their duty in publicly attending prayers at a place assigned for that purpose, and at times so calculated as not to interfere with other duties. He hopes in future that both officers and soldiers will give the strongest evidence of their confidence in God, by strictly attending religious exercises morning and evening.

The next day, which was Sunday, the Chaplain preached to the brigade, as will be noticed in the diary,

from the text, "The tongue of the just is as choice silver; the heart of the wicked is little worth." He, doubtless, followed up the orders of his commanding officer, encouraging attention to religious exercises, and rebuking profanity, a habit too common in all armies.

The following is an address delivered by Gen. Nixon to Col. May's regiment, on the 6th of Oct., 1777, just before the time of their enlistment expired, to induce them to tarry a few days longer, and assist in the complete conquest of Gen. Burgoyne's army:—

GENTLEMEN, OFFICERS, AND SOLDIERS:

I heartily congratulate you upon the late signal success against our enemies. The glorious work is so favorably begun, that it cannot fail of inspiring the friends of America with becoming zeal and fortitude to brave future dangers, endure the hardships of a camp life for a few days, and assist in giving a finishing stroke in a conquest, which may secure the freedom and happiness of America. Consider that the fate, not only of your friends and families, state and privileges, but that of an extensive continent containing millions, is now depending. Should we fail in completing the glorious conquest which is now begun, by reason of the brave militia leaving us at this critical juncture, it must give them such painful sensations that their very peaceful habitations would become dwellings of restless anxiety, and their very friends and relatives would be ready to blame them for the loss of their privileges, and the fall of a new political world. Gentlemen, be persuaded to adopt that excellent Scriptural expression in Nehemiah, "Should such a man as I flee, * * * I will not go." Only assist us a few days longer, you shall then be dismissed with honor. You will have the thanks of the Generals and the applause of your country.

"Notwithstanding the above spirited address," says Smith, "the whole regiment left our army the very week in which Gen. Burgoyne surrendered, excepting the Colonel and Major of the regiment."

On Tuesday, October 7, was fought the second great battle of Stillwater. The right wing of the American

Army resting on the Hudson River, was commanded by Generals Nixon and Glover; the centre was commanded by Lincoln; and the left wing, extending on to Bemis' Heights, was commanded by Morgan and Gen. Learned. The left wing of the British Army resting on the river, was commanded by Phillips, the centre by Riedesel, and the extreme right extending to the heights, by Lord Balcarres. Smith gives the following brief account:—

Tues., 7. The troops under General Burgoyne, viz: twenty-four out of each company of each regiment of grenadiers, and twenty-four out of each company of each regiment of their light troops, with others, (fifteen hundred in all), advanced towards our lines, when we gave them battle, took the ground, and drove the enemy into their works. We took possession of part of their works, with considerable ammunition, several ammunition wagons, eight pieces of artillery, a number of horses and carts, army tents, and much baggage, together with three Colonels, Sir Francis Clark, Aid-de-camp to General Burgoyne; Sir Thomas Ackland, Speaker of the House of Commons in Great Britain; Major Williams of the Tories, (Commander of the Artillery); John Money, Adjutant Quartermaster General; eighteen officers of different ranks; one hundred and fifty-nine privates and non-commissioned officers; one hundred wounded and brought in; and seventy killed in the field; our killed, wounded and missing not exceeding one hundred and fifty. —Wed., 8. Our army marched to give them battle, but they declined coming out to meet them. That night Gen. Burgoyne began his retreat and left 340 sick and wounded behind.—Thurs., 9. It was very rainy, which prevented our pursuing them.—Fri., 10. We passed and overtook them at Saratoga. Great numbers of deserters have come in from the battle, and are daily coming in.

"The main army of Gates," says Lossing, "reached the high ridge between Saratoga Church and the Fish Creek, at about four in the afternoon of the 10th. The British had crossed over the creek, and were encamped upon the high grounds on the slope of which Schuylerville is now built. The two armies were within the

sound of each other's music. The boats of Burgoyne, with his baggage and provisions, were at the mouth of the creek. A fatigue party began to carry the stores from the boats to the heights, but Fellows constantly played upon them with two field pieces stationed on the flats beyond the river, and they were obliged to retreat to the camp. Several of the bateaux of the enemy, with their provisions were captured, and immediately became objects of plunder for the raw militia and motley followers of the army. Even the Continental troops were implicated in taking "pay and rations" for services directly from the enemy, instead of receiving them through the paymaster. These irregularities became so extensive that the following order was issued:—

HEAD QUARTERS.

SARATOGA, Oct. 12, 1777.

GEN. GATES' ORDERS.

The General sees so many scandalous and mean transactions committed by men who seek more after plunder, than the honor of doing their duty in a soldier-like and becoming manner, that he is obliged to declare his unalterable resolution to have the first person, who shall hereafter be detected pillaging the baggage and stores taken from the enemy, tried and punished with the utmost severity of the military law. Officers who know their duty, and have virtue to practice it, will not be seeking plunder, when they ought to be doing their best service in the field. It is only the worthless and pilfering that are so truly infamous. For the future, all plunder from the enemy is to be delivered to Lieut.-Col. Hay, Department Quartermaster General, who is to give a receipt for the same, and after three days' public notice in general orders, it shall be sold by auction in the most central place in the rear of the Army, and the money for which the plunder is sold, shall be properly ordered divided among such persons as in the impartial judgment of the General, have a right to receive a share. When there is a sum sufficient to divide amongst the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the whole army, they may be assured of each having their just quota.

The next entry in the diary is:—"Saturday 11. We took fifty prisoners in the morning." "At daybreak of the eleventh," says Bancroft, "an American brigade, favored by a thick fog, broke up the British posts at the mouth of the Fishkill, and captured all their boats and all their provisions, except a short allowance for five days. Stone, in his history of the Campaign of Gen. Burgoyne, gives additional particulars. Believing that the British Army were in full retreat, Gates ordered Nixon and Glover, with their brigades, to cross the creek early in the morning, under cover of the fog, and attack the British Camp. The English General had notice of this plan, and placing a battery in position, posted his troops in ambush behind the thickets along the banks of the creek, and concealed also by the fog, waited the attack, confident of victory. At early daylight, Morgan, who had again been selected to begin the action, crossed the creek with his men, and falling in with a British picket was fired upon. This led him to believe that the main army had not moved. Nixon, however, who was in advance, had already crossed the stream near its confluence with the Hudson, and captured a picket of sixty men. Glover was preparing to follow, when a deserter from the enemy confirmed the suspicions of Morgan, and the Americans made good their retreat. Thus by the providential circumstance of a deserter flying to our camp, our army was saved from a terrible, perhaps fatal loss. This Burgoyne himself termed "one of the most adverse strokes of fortune during the campaign."¹ This event perhaps led to the issuing of the following order:—

¹ See "State of the Expedition from Canada, as laid before the House of Canada, by Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, and verified by Evidence; with a collection of Authentic Documents." Numerous Maps and Plans. 4to Lond., 1780, pp. 202.

HEAD QUARTERS.

SARATOGA, Oct. 13, 1777.

GEN. GATES' ORDERS.

The disappointment and vexation of Gen. Burgoyne at the frequent defeats of his army, must have reduced his army to despair, and himself to a situation of mind that often produces a desperate attempt. The rage exerted by such calamitous circumstances must be watched with care. The army confiding in the justice of their cause, and the goodness of Providence, need only to guard against a surprise. If they are not wanting to themselves, they may have confidence that a few days will finish the campaign. The General therefore entreats every officer and soldier under his command to be ready to fly to their arms at a moment's warning. No persons whatsoever should upon any account, duty excepted, straggle one yard from their post, but be continually ready to face the enemy, should rashness or despair provoke them once more to try the fortune of war.

"On the twelfth," says Bancroft, "the British Army was completely invested; nor was there a spot in their camp which was not exposed to cannon or rifle-shot. On the thirteenth, Burgoyne, for the first time, called the Commanders of the Corps to council; and they were unanimous for treating on honorable terms. Had Gates been firm, they would have surrendered as prisoners of war. Burgoyne's counter proposals stipulated for a passage for the army from the port of Boston to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the war. Frightened by the Expedition of Vaughan, Gates consented to the modification, and on the seventeenth the Convention was signed. A body of the Americans marched to the tune of 'Yankee Doodle' into the lines of the British, while they marched out, and in mute astonishment and sorrow laid down their arms, with none of the American soldiery to witness the spectacle."

The following is the army order issued on the occasion of the surrender:—

HEAD QUARTERS.

SARATOGA, Oct. 17, 1777.

GEN. GATES' ORDERS.

The brigades to be under arms at their several encampments exactly at nine o'clock. The regiment of Riflemen under Col. Morgan, and the corps of Light Infantry under Maj. Dearborn, to be ready when ordered to take possession of the enemy's lines, posts, and redoubts. The commanding officers of those troops are to be particularly attentive to the soldier-like and good behavior of their men. The enemies of the United States have propagated an opinion, amongst the British and German troops, that the Americans are barbarians, who pay no regard to the faith of treaties, and whose sole view is rapine and plunder. From the preceding glorious behavior of the army, the General is convinced, that not an officer or soldier under his command will suffer the smallest infringement of the Convention which their General has pledged his honor shall not in any the least degree be invaded. Let the British Army, let Germany, let Europe, and all the world know, that the troops of the United States are not only great in arms, but that they are as tenacious of their honor and plighted public faith, as any of the most polished nations under the sun. The man detected in stealing the smallest article from any of the prisoners, either in their quarters or upon their march, must expect to be tried by a General Court Martial, and if convicted suffer death.

The diary gives details of this important event:—

Sab., 12. Skirmishing so as to prevent preaching.—Mon., 13. Thirty odd prisoners brought in; and, in the evening, Gen. Burgoyne sent in a flag of truce, and proposed to Gen. Gates for one of his field officers to have a conference with him. Gen. Gates conceded to the proposal, and appointed 10 o'clock next day for it.—Tues., 14. In the evening, Gen. Burgoyne sent a flag to Gen. Gates with a letter acknowledging the superiority of our numbers and strength, also the good disposition of our army, etc. Cessation of arms ensued till Fri., 17, when the articles of capitulation were signed in the morning. Before noon I saw Gen. Burgoyne, Gen. Phillips, Gen. Riedesel, Gen. Hamilton, with their attendants, come into our lines at the meeting of Gen. Burgoyne and Gen. Gates. Gen. Burgoyne addressed himself thus: "The fate of war has put me into your hands." Gen. Gates replied: "If enterprise, courage, and perseverance could have given you success, the victory would have been yours," or words to that

effect. Gen. Gates then addressed himself to this effect to Gen. Phillips: "Gen. Phillips, I did not expect to see you here, but I am glad to see you well." They all were invited to dine with Gen. Gates. In the afternoon, Gen. Burgoyne's army, who were paraded before he came into our lines, left their arms and marched off from their parade, etc. Gen. Burgoyne's army at the time of capitulation consisted of British troops, 2,442; foreigners, 2,198; Canadians and Tories, 1,100. Gen. Nixon's brigade marched down the river the same afternoon, about five or six miles.

Mr. Smith has left among his papers the following memorandum:—

SARATOGA, Oct. 17, 1777.

British troops by capitulation.....	2442
Foreigners.....	2198
Sent to Canada.....	1100
Staff.....	12
Sick and wounded.....	528
Prisoners of war.....	400
Deserters.....	300
Lost at Bennington.....	1220
Killed between 17th Sept. and 7th Oct.....	600
	8800
At Ticonderoga.....	413
	9213

Brass cannon taken in the field of action, two of 24 pounders, four of 12 pounders, eighteen of 6 pounders, and four of 3 pounders. Five brass royals, and two 8 inch mortars brass. Implements and stores complete for the above. 5000 stands of arms, a number of ammunition wagons, harnesses complete, 400 sets of harnesses. Mr. Burgoyne and three of his officers are members of Parliament. The above is an account of the destruction of Gen. Burgoyne's army, etc.

Also the following:—

Extracts taken by Chaplain Smith from Major Peter Harwood's Journal:

Sept. ye 12th, 1777. Three miles north of Stillwater ye Northern

Army under Gen. Gates consisted of 6,760 rank and file fit for duty, 10,123 accounted for.

Sept. 19. A battle was fought, where we lost 64 men killed, 217 wounded, 38 were missing.

Oct. 7. A battle was fought. It began about 4 o'clock, and lasted till night came on. We beat the British troops and took eight pieces of cannon.

Oct. 8. We kept up a continual firing.

Oct. 10. It rained all day. The enemy retreated to Saratoga in a precipitate manner. Burned their tents.

Oct. 11. We pursued the enemy to Saratoga, where we found great destruction among their baggage wagons.

Oct. 12. We crossed Fish Creek by Schuyler's Mills in the fog; but finding the whole body of the enemy there, the Gen. ordered our Brigade back.

Oct. 13. We kept up a continual popping with small arms. The enemy fired a few cannon.

Oct. 14, 15, 16. We were agreeing on articles of capitulation.

Oct. 17. The enemy marched out in consequence of capitulation.

Thus ended the two great battles on Bemis' Heights, of which Lord Mahon,¹ in his "History of England," justly remarks:—"Of those great conflicts, in which hundreds of thousands have been engaged, and tens of thousands have fallen, none have been more fruitful of results." * * * "Of all the events in the American War, the greatest and most important, in its results, at least, was Saratoga."

The diary continues:—

Sat., 18. We marched with our brigade into Albany.—Sat., 19. The unsettled state of our troops prevented my preaching.—Mon., 20.—Sat., 25. Remained in Albany, performing Chaplain's duty part of the time.—Sat., 26. Preached a sermon, from Exodus 15: 12, "I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously." "The Lord is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation."

¹ History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles, 1713-1763. By Lord Mahon. 7 vols., 8vo. London, 1830-34.

While in Albany he addressed a letter to his wife.

CAMP ALBANY, Oct. 22, 1777.

MY DEAR HEZKIAH: Although I sent you a letter since our total conquest of Gen. Burgoyne's army, in which I enclosed the articles of capitulation, yet I am loth to miss this opportunity by Mr. Chadwick to let you know that I am in a good state of health, ready to serve my country in the reduction of our enemies to the southward, if Gen. Washington should stand in need. We have no very late intelligence from him; but the last we had was favorable, and we daily expect to hear of a general battle. Hope the Lord will give success to our arms. The following is a list of the taken, killed, etc., of Gen. Burgoyne's army: * * * The number of killed and taken at Fort Stanwick I cannot ascertain. Gen. Burgoyne and three other officers taken were members of the British Parliament. I have sent you by Mr. Chadwick one hundred dollars, which I hope will serve your present necessity. I hope you and the dear little ones are in health, and that you will be able soon to give me joy with an addition to our family. Could I with honor have been with you at this time, it would have afforded me great satisfaction; but I desire to submit to the all-wise disposal of Providence, in whose hands and under whose protection we are ever safe. My love to all friends. From your affectionate husband,

HEZKIAH SMITH.

P. S. I now lodge at John M. Beekman's, whose wife sends her compliments to you. They are very agreeable persons.

Mr. Smith remained in Albany nearly two months, under the hospitable roof of Mr. Beekman, preaching to his brigade on the Lord's Day in the Presbyterian meeting house, visiting the sick and wounded, and in general performing Chaplain's duty. On the 13th of December, he set out for home, having received the following farewell:—

"HEAD QUARTERS, ALBANY, Dec. 12, 1777.

"The Rev. Mr. Smith, Chaplain to General Nixon's brigade, has permission from the Hon. Major General

Gates, to be absent from the brigade four months from this date, to return home to visit his family.

"By the General's commands,

"ISAAC PIERCE, *Secretary*.

"To whom it may concern."

He reached Haverhill, Thursday, the 18th. On the following Lord's Day, he preached to a crowded house from Isa. 54 : 7. "For a small moment have I forsaken thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee;" and in the afternoon from John 10: 12. "But he that is an hireling, and not the shepherd, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep, and fleeth; and the wolf catcheth them and scattereth the sheep." Perhaps in the course of his remarks, he referred to the German "hirelings," whom the British had employed to subdue the Americans. We may be sure that the lessons of the war were not forgotten in these memorable discourses, preached to his people on his return, after an absence from the pulpit of six months.

We close the present chapter with the following outline of a sermon, "finished," the author writes, "the 14th of Oct., 1779, at Caleb Sutton's, near Pine's Bridge, on the north side of Croton River, to preach next Lord's Day, it being the second anniversary of the surrender of General Burgoyne." Aside from its valuable historical allusions, it furnishes a good illustration of Mr. Smith's style of preaching.

ADDRESS BY THE REV. HEZEKIAH SMITH, CHAPLAIN IN THE AMERICAN ARMY. DELIVERED IN CAMP, SUNDAY, OCT. 17, 1779.

Isaiah 26: 8. "Yea, in the way of thy judgments, O Lord, have we waited for thee; the desire of our soul is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee."

1. The anniversary of this day cannot fail to excite the most pleasing reflections upon the grand event which took place on the 17th of October, 1777, when at one view, we beheld the most agreeable issue of the northern campaign; the effect of American bravery; the boasted glory of Britain fall; the basis laid for American importance amongst the powers of earth; an event scarcely paralleled in history, which exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the brave sons of freedom, and ensured future success to our military operations:—Since which our public affairs have afforded the most pleasing hopes of future wealth and greatness.

2. I feel myself happy to congratulate my hearers on the revolution of this day, a day which reminds us of that which was big with the fate of America, and which offers to view the grandest conquest ever gained since the creation of the world.¹ Upon this day we have

¹ Prof. Creasy, a distinguished English writer, in his "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World," thus corroborates the views advanced by Chaplain Smith:—

"Nor can any military event be said to have exercised more important influence on the future fortunes of mankind than the complete defeat of Burgoyne's expedition in 1777; a defeat which rescued the revolted Colonists from certain subjection, and which, by inducing the courts of France and Spain to attack England in their behalf, insured the independence of the United States, and the formation of that transatlantic power which not only America, but both Europe and Asia now see and feel."

In corroboration of the correctness of Chaplain Smith's views in regard to this great battle, I may refer to the "Saratoga Monument Association," which is incorporated under perpetual charter by the State of New York. This Association is composed of patriotic citizens from many States of the Union. Ex-Governor Seymour, of New York, is its president, and the Hon. John H. Martin, of New York City, its acting president. Among the list of trustees, are such men as Hamilton Fish, Wm. L. Stone, Benson J. Lossing, Geo. W. Curtis, and others of New York; General Kirke, of South Carolina; General Horatio Rogers, of Rhode Island; Giles B. Mecom, of Michigan; and E. B. Canning, of Massachusetts.

This Association has acquired title to four acres of land within the line of Burgoyne's intrenchments, overlooking the field of surrender, and has erected thereon a beautiful monumental shaft, one hundred and fifty-five feet high. The exterior walls of this granite monument are now finished. The total cost is estimated at \$150,000, one half of which has already been expended. In addition to generous subscriptions by liberal and patriotic individuals, large appropriations for this object have been made by the State of New York, and by the General Government. The Hon. M. R. Cox, a trustee of the Association, and a member of Congress, from New York, in a speech made in the House of Representatives, Dec. 4, 1864, on a bill which passed Congress that day appropriating \$40,000 for providing statuary and historical tablets for the Saratoga monument, thus closes his eloquent remarks:—

"But the event at Saratoga dominates all. It is full-orbed in splendor! It marks something that belongs not merely to the century gone by, or to England.

the pleasing or retrospective view of the surrender of one whose military character was great, whose zeal, with unremitting ardor, burst forth in all the forms of arms; in that pompous proclamation filled with bombast; designed to terrify, and spread consternation through the northern clime, and drive the timid inhabitants to a tame submission to British tyranny.¹ But British pride and glory, having

and America, but to all ages and to mankind. The surrender at Saratoga was not merely the surrender of Burgoyne and his army; it was the surrender of a distant and haughty prince and an obsequious and corrupt parliament to thirteen weak and remote colonies. It was the most conspicuous step in that grand march of events, so extraordinary and unexpected, that the English historian of our Revolution, Steedman, says that they bore 'defiance to all human foresight,' and which found their consummation at Yorktown. It was the flower of that fruit which gave us our matchless Constitution. It was a surrender, in advance, of this hemisphere to Democratic-Republican autonomy, in which public and personal, local and national, liberties are guarded with vestal vigilance under written charters, and where in the course of one century after the auspicious event nearly sixty millions of enfranchised people are encircled by a zone of felicities unexampled in the annals of mankind; and who, rising up, call the men of that day that tried sinew and soul blessed beyond most martial and civic heroes who have glorified our planet!"

¹ This remarkable manifesto, to which we have already referred, is published in full in Almon's "Remembrancer." It is entitled, "Proclamation, By John Burgoyne, Esquire, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces in America, Colonel of the Queen's regiment of Light Dragoons, Governor of Fort William, in North Britain, one of the Commissioners of Great Britain in Parliament, and Commander of an army and fleet employed in an expedition from Canada. Camp at Putnam Creek, June 29, 1777. The forces entrusted to my command are designed to act in concert, and upon a common principle with the numerous armies and fleets which already display, in every quarter of America, the power, the justice, and, when properly sought, the mercy, of the king." He then appeals to the "suffering thousands in the provinces," whether "the present unnatural rebellion has not been made a foundation for the completest system of tyranny that ever God in his displeasure suffered for a time to be exercised over a froward and stubborn generation." He invites all persons in all places where his army may be to justify him by their conduct in extending to them his protection. This invitation he extends, "in the consciousness of Christianity, his Royal Master's clemency, and the honor of soldiery." He closes with the following threats:—"Let not the people be led to disregard my invitation by considering their distance from the immediate situation of my camp. I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction, and they amount to thousands, to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain and America. I consider them the same, wherever they may lurk. If notwithstanding these endeavors, and sincere inclination to effect them, the frenzy of hostility should remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of God and man, in denouncing and executing the vengeance of the State against the willful outcasts. The messengers of justice and of wrath wait them in the field; and devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror that a reluctant,

arrived to their summit, now begin visibly to decline, which becomes evident in the surrender at Saratoga. Although this acquisition will adorn the historical pages of this new world, and transmit the names of the worthies to the latest ages, yet this day reminds us of another conquest, which so far exceeds the one now mentioned as scarcely to admit of comparison. A conquest more extensive in its influence; more interesting in its nature, and more beneficial to the world. A conquest celebrated by ages, and which will be transmitted to the latest period of time. It differs from all others in this: It was gained by the Conqueror's passing through death.—“That through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is the Devil.” It is a Conqueror who gained this victory in his own person, without the least assistance from any of the sons of men. Listen to his own declaration: “I looked and there was none to help; and I wondered that there was none to uphold; therefore mine own arm brought salvation unto me, and my fury it upheld me.” Isa. 63: 5. He engaged all the powers and hosts of hell, with that arch prince of the infernal regions at their head, and so completely conquered them, that he rose triumphant from death, and with all the splendid trophies of victory,

but indispensable prosecution of military duty must occasion, will bar the way to their return.”

“The pompous manner,” wrote Dr. Thatcher, “in which Burgoyne arrayed his tales, would lead us to suppose that he considered them more than a match for all the military force which we can bring against him.” The proclamation, instead of frightening the people, was treated with contempt. The following poetical paraphrase of it, in Hudibrastic rhyme, was attributed, says *Looney*, to the witty Francis Hopkinson:—

“I will let loose the dogs of hell,
Ten thousand Indians, who shall yell,
And foam and tear, and grin and roar,
And drench their moccasins in gore;
To these I'll give full scope and play
From Ticonderog to Florida.
They'll scalp your heads and kick your shins,
And rip your —, and flay your skins,
And of your ears be nimble criers,
And make your thumbs tobacco stoppers.
If after all these loving warnings,
My wishes and my bowels' yearnings,
You shall remain as deaf as adder,
Or grow with hostile rage the madder,
I swear by St. George, and by St. Paul,
I will exterminate you all.
Subscribed with my manual sign,
To test these presents—John Burgoyne.”

ascended with a shout, led captivity captive, and passed unmolested through the region and territories of Satan, to his own dominion and kingdom. Having gained universal empire through his kingdom and success, he is now seated on the exalted throne of his dignity, far beyond the utmost reach of his inveterate, irreconcilable and malicious foes, and is constantly enlarging his special kingdom, through the trophies of grace, in translating from the kingdom of darkness into the marvelous kingdom of light, truth, and liberty.

3. We may with the utmost propriety cordially unite in celebrating the two grand events but just mentioned; the one affording the happy prospect of earthly felicity, the other the most pleasing hope of celestial happiness.

4. Our rejoicings on this day should ever be kept within the limits prescribed by the laws of Christ's kingdom, and be governed according to the spirit and rules thereof:—Then our eyes will be to him who giveth success; and teacheth our hands to war and our fingers to fight.

5. This chapter is calculated to excite confidence in God; to wait upon him in the way of his judgments; and to look unto him for blessing and success.

METHOD.

I. Consider some of the judgments in the way of which we have waited for the Lord.

I would premise, that the particular judgments the prophet has reference to, with which the Jews were exercised, and the judgments of God at large, I do not mean to consider:—Only some particular judgments which have taken place since our present troubles first began.

1. That which gave rise to the present war, may be conceived of as a sore judgment, which first discovered itself in laying a plan to subject these states to intolerable burdens and unjust taxations.

2. An infringement of our charter rights and privileges, was a judgment pregnant with the most alarming evils, which justly roused the dominant spirit of Americans, and excited them to wait upon the Lord in the use of means to remedy the impending calamity.

3. Lexington¹ can witness to the tragical scene exhibited to view upon the Common, near the head of the town, when several of her brave sons bled and fell and died,—in the defence of their injured

¹ "Seven of the men of Lexington were killed, nine wounded; a quarter part of all who stood in arms on the green." These, says Bancroft, "are the village heroes, who were more than of noble blood, proving by their spirit that they were of a race divine."

country,—whose death occasioned the martial flame, quick like a flash of lightning, to communicate itself from East to West, and to unite in one common cause, the several states, to oppose the horrid strides of despotism which then made their appearance under the tyrannic ensigns of fire and arms. The ever memorable Nineteenth of April, 1775, ushered in the bloody scene, marked with plunder and burning, the known characteristics of British cruelty and savage barbarity. Falmouth,¹ Charlestown,² Norfolk,³ East Haven,⁴ Fairfield,⁵ Norwalk,⁶ Crompond,⁷ and Bedford,⁸ are flagrant instances of the British rage, and their unprincipled conduct in the burning and plundering way.

4. The effusion of human blood might be accounted a grievous judgment, amidst which we have waited for the Lord. Many have been the bloody scenes since the 19th of April, 1775, in which great numbers of our fellow subjects have fallen, and left their bodies in the field of honor, whilst their spirits departed and went to him who made them. Their dying struggles have contributed to the happy prospect now before us, and their names with respect will be handed down to posterity. The two grand actions fought on the 19th of September and the 7th of October, 1777, at Bemis' Heights, are doubtless fresh in your minds, the success of which laid the foundations for the happy event on the 17th. In the way of God's judgments we waited upon him.

5. I might mention that part which many of our fellow citizens and countrymen have acted, as traitors, thieves, plunderers, etc., joining the enemy to destroy and lay waste this beautiful land, as a sore judgment, amidst which we have waited upon the Lord.

¹ On the 16th of Oct., 1775, Nowal, a naval officer, in a ship of 16 guns, attended by three other vessels, went up the harbor of Falmouth, now Portland, and fired on the town, burning the vessels in the harbor, St. Paul's church, the public buildings, and 130 dwelling houses, or three fourths of the town.

² At the battle of Bunker's Hill, Charlestown was set on fire by special orders from the Commanding officer, and in a short time five hundred edifices of wood burnt into a blaze.

³ On the 1st of Jan., 1776, the town of Norfolk, Virginia, was laid in ashes, by the guns of a British frigate and two sloops of war, under Dunmore, and the wretched inhabitants were made shelterless in the cold winter air.

⁴ On the 5th of Sept., 1775, Grey, a marauding officer under Howe, burned the mills and houses of Fairhaven, near New Bedford.

⁵ Fairfield, a model New England village, was pillaged and burned by Tryon's troops, July 7, 1778. On the 11th, the British troops appeared before Norwalk, and burned its houses, barns, and places of public worship.

⁶ Crompond, a little village eight miles from Verplanck's Point, was burned by Loyalists under Col. Robertson, in the autumn of 1776.

⁷ New Bedford was plundered and burned by the British under Grey, at the time that Fairhaven, on East Haven, was burned.

6. What have increased the judgments have been the combined powers of nations in conjunction with the numerous savage tribes, who have exercised all the horrid tortures of inhuman barbarities, whose tender mercies are cruelty. The defenceless children, the helpless women, the superannuated men, are painful witnesses thereof. Should these prove insufficient testimonies, witness the prison ships,—witness the houses of confinement for our prisoners in New York, where hundreds or thousands were wasted by pinching hunger, prostrating colds, and inhuman neglects.¹ Amidst the whole we have waited for the Lord.

II. Show that God is the proper object of the soul's desire.

I would premise, that the desires of a soul are very numerous, and often very pernicious, the objects are hurtful and ruinous. Hence to be deprived of their gratification is peculiarly advantageous and demands gratitude. The desires are not only numerous but vastly extensive, and could by no means be satisfied with sensual gratification or earthly enjoyments. This will hold good with those of different characters and possessions in life. The above observation accounts for the universal disquietudes in the breasts of those whose desires are not to God. That God is the proper object of the soul's desire will appear very evident from the following observations:

1. No other object can possibly satisfy the desires of the soul. The nature of the soul being spiritual and immortal cannot rest easy with an object merely natural and mortal. It is a maxim in Natural Philosophy, that a stream cannot run higher than its fountain. So the desires of a soul cannot rise higher than the soul. But experience teaches us that the desires of a soul often rise above and go far beyond all perishable objects; consequently the soul must be above them all; hence must be left destitute of complete happiness, unless God becomes the object of its desires.

2. The perfections of the Deity afford the most agreeable variety, harmony, and beauty for the entertainment of a rational soul. Each

¹ Associations of intense horror are linked with the memory and the records of the cruelties practiced and sufferings endured in the prisons and prison ships of New York, for an account of which see Lossing's "Field-Book of the Revolution." "On board one only of these prison-ships, above eleven thousand of our brave countrymen are said to have perished. She was called the *Jersey*. Her wreck still remains, and at low tide presents to the world its accursed and blighted fragments. Twice in twenty-four hours the winds of heaven sigh through it, and repeat the groans of our expiring countrymen; and twice the ocean hides in her bosom those deadly and polluted ruins, which all her waters cannot purify." Russell's "Fourth of July Orations. Providence, 1800."

perfection displays new glories and opens up infinity to the mind, which absorbs all its desires, and presents to view immortality, which the soul, with pleasing wonder, contemplates through endless ages of existence, in the full enjoyment of undisturbed felicity. A foretaste of which the regenerate are favored with in this life, which makes them cry out in the most elevating strains, saying:

"The desire of our soul is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee."

3. When we consider our dependence upon him, and our obligations to him, and the daily benefits received from him, it is most proper that our soul's desire should be unto him.

4. When we consider that the disposal of all nations, all providences, and all events is with him, surely it is highly proper that our desires should be to him for what we need. He sendeth war by stirring up one nation against another. He sendeth peace by disposing contending parties to an amicable settlement of differences. He causes a separation of nations, and humbles the pride of the great, and exalteth the lowly. Doubtless it was his will that these young rising states should assert their rights, contend for their freedom, and become independent of that nation, whose pride and luxury are like to be its ruin.

5. It is most proper that our desires should be to him who removeth judgments, correcteth gently, and discovereth the greatest benevolence to the moral world. This he has done, not only in his common providences, but by the special act of grace in the gift of his Son to the world.

III. Consider some things which the Lord hath done for us, which call for a grateful remembrance of him.

1. The gospel, and all its blessings, promises, etc., call for a grateful remembrance.

2. We should gratefully remember the Lord, for raising us up in our political infancy, and increasing our strength, when exceeding weak, destitute in a great measure of arms, accoutrements, ammunition, and discipline; without law, without order, without organization. From a mere state of artless nature, the Lord hath formed us in union, as a band of brothers, to devise rules and methods, salutary for our political good; and raised an army, great and respectable in the eyes of the world, brave, hardy, patient in sufferings, determined in action, well-disciplined, and a terror to the most veteran troops in the world. To God who teacheth our hands to war and our fingers to fight, be all due praise ascribed, for inspiring the brave sons of America with martial zeal and courage. For this, witness Bunker's Hill; witness

Bemis' Heights, and the many other places where the intrepid Americans have been called to oppose the veteran troops of Great Britain.

3. The repeated successes with which we have been favored, by sea and land, call for our grateful remembrance of the Lord, particularly the one which took place at Saratoga, in the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne and his whole army. This was a sight which gladdened our hearts. This was a prelude of Britain falling before rising America; since which America has ascended in the scale of importance amongst the powers of the earth; and Great Britain has been descending so rapidly, that the surrounding nations at a distance stand amazed to see the lofty nation, which gave laws to the sea, and spread dread and terror all around, sinking into littleness.

4. We should gratefully remember the Lord for granting to us so powerful an ally, and giving us such an agreeable prospect of a happy end to the present contest.

IMPROVEMENT.

1. As we appealed to heaven in the beginning of this contest for the rectitude of our intentions and the justice of our cause, so we ought to be obedient to the voice of the God of heaven, who amidst judgment remembered mercy, and granted us repeated successes. In the way of his judgments we have waited for the Lord.

2. As God is the proposed object of our desires, we may learn how vain it is to seek any other object to perform that for us which God alone can perform or do.

3. Let us gratefully remember the name of the Lord for all the blessings of grace, and those of his providence. This day may we all be made glad in the Lord.

FINIS.

CHAPTER VI.

WEST POINT—WHITE PLAINS—VERPLANCK'S POINT—STONY POINT
—PAULUS HOOK—MASSACHUSETTS BILL OF RIGHTS—ARNOLD'S
TREASON—MAJOR ANDRÉ.

1778—1780.

Home on a furlough—Valley Forge, empty treasury, depreciated currency, discontent of officers, conspiracy against Washington—Sets out for the army—Providence and Manning—New Fairfield and John Gano—West Point—Preaches to Major-General Putnam's regiment—Chaplain Avery—White Plains—Chatterton's Hill, North Castle—Baptist Church in Stamford—Condemned Criminals—Gives the rounds on parade with General Nixon—Preaches to his brigade with Washington for a hearer—Dines with Washington—Execution of two Criminals—Exchanges with Chaplain Hitchcock—Army decamps from White Plains—Danbury—Fredericksburg—Anniversary of Burgoyne's Surrender—Woodbury—On his way home—Southampton, Farrington, Framingham, Boston, Haverhill—Small-pox—Six months' furlough—Continental Thanksgiving—Proclamation from Congress—Communication to his Society respecting arrears of salary—Sets out again for the army—Summary of events during his absence—Colla Burgh on North River—Continental Fast—Visit to the Jerseys—Continental village—Verplanck's Point and Stony Point—Surrender of—Letter to General Gates—Brigade Orders, or Smith's address to the army—Prisoners and deserters taken daily—British Army in South Carolina—Observance of St. John's Day by the Freemasons—Crompond—Plundering and burning a part of British policy—Reads Edwards on the Will—Attends daily prayers in the army—Washington's army order on Divine worship—Severe thunder storm—Wayne's assault on Stony Point—Stony Point evacuated—Address to the army on profane swearing—Dines with General Heath—Paulus Hook taken by Major Lee—Admiral Arbuthnot's arrival at New York—Count D'Estaing off the coast of Georgia—Expedition against the Six Nations—Generals Sullivan and Clinton—Chaplain Rogers and Gano—Letter to Dean Tyler, Haverhill—Chaplain Vanhorn preaches for Mr. Smith—Second anniversary of Burgoyne's surrender—Committee to the army from the General Court—Visits West Point—Dines with Washington—Attends execution of Josiah Edwards—Arrangements of the army for winter quarters—Six months' furlough—At home—Revivals in the Church—Backus—Towns meeting in Haverhill to approve of the State Constitution—Article III. in Bill of Rights opposed by Smith—Article given in full—Opposed by Baptists generally—Successive town meetings—Operations of the war—Sets out for the army for the last time—Letter to his wife—Mr. Smith's family—Treason of Benedict Arnold—Arrest, trial, and execution of Major André—Communication to the army from General Nathaniel Greene—Resignation of General John Nixon—Sermon preached by Chaplain Smith to the First Massachusetts Brigade at Tappan on the occasion of Arnold's treason—Resignation as Chaplain—Arrival home.

During the four months that Chaplain Smith was at home on a furlough, he was actively engaged in the performance of his duties as Pastor of the church. Allusion has been made in the preceding chapter to the first sermon which he preached on his return from the army. On Monday, Dec. 22, 1777, as we learn from his diary, he attended the funeral of Deacon Stevens, in the East Parish of Haverhill. The remainder of the week he spent in visiting his people. The following Lord's Day he preached two sermons from Dan. 4: 34, the subject being the Infinite One whom the prophet blessed and praised, "who liveth forever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and whose kingdom is from generation to generation."—Thursday, January 1, 1778, he preached in his meeting house from Isa. 20: 5, "And they shall be afraid and ashamed of Ethiopia, their expectation, and of Egypt, their glory." On the Saturday following, he preached in North Rowley, and the next day he preached two sermons in the North meeting house in Bradford, from Isa. 49: 24, 25.

While the pastor was thus quietly pursuing his accustomed work, affairs of momentous interest were engaging the attention of Congress. Washington, on the 19th of December, had arrived at Valley Forge, with his suffering and neglected army. Many of his men had neither clothes to cover their nakedness, nor blankets to lie on. For the want of shoes their marches through frost and snow could be traced by the blood from their feet, and they were almost without provisions. The Government had only an empty treasury, to replenish which bills of credit to a large amount were issued. This gave a new impulse to the depreciation which Congress and the States strove in vain to arrest. Many

valuable officers, finding their pay obstructed, and seeing better prospects elsewhere; had thrown up their commissions. Washington exerted himself to the utmost to preserve the army from total disorganization; but meanwhile a project was on foot to remove him from the chief command. Conway, Mifflin, and Gates are unpleasantly mentioned by historians in this connection, together with such party leaders in Congress as Richard Henry Lee, and Samuel Adams. It was indeed a dark and trying time in the affairs of the nation.

Mr. Smith's furlough having expired, he once more made arrangements for leaving Haverhill. His diary, or military journal, which we copy in full from this point, reads as follows:—

April 28, 1778. I left home and set out for the army. Went that day to Billerica.—Wed., 29. Went to Framingham and lodged at Capt. Edward's.—Thurs., 30. Went to Bellingham. Lodged at Mr. Alden's.—Fri., May 1. Went to Providence and lodged at President Manning's.—Sat., 2. In Providence.—Sab., 3. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house, from Isa. 55: 7, and Solomon's Song, 5: 16. Tarried in Providence Monday.—Tues., 5. Went to Windham and lodged at Benj. Lathrop's.—Wed., 6. Preached in Windham from Heb. 12: 25.—Thurs., 7. Went to Mr. Cole's in East Hartford.—Fri., 8. Went to Southington to Mr. Meriman's. Tarried there till Monday.—Sab., 10. Preached two sermons, from Heb. 12: 26, and Prov. 1: 24-9.—Mon., 11. Went to John Gano's¹ in New Fairfield.—Tues., 12. Preached at John Gano's from Ex. 15: 2.—Wed., 13. Went to Fishkill² and lodged that night with Col. Nixon.—Thurs., 14.

¹ Rev. John Gano, as has already been stated, was a brother-in-law of President Manning, and one of the bravest of men. He served as Chaplain during the entire war, and in every engagement would "somehow unconsciously find himself in the front of the regiment," encouraging and cheering the men. His family, it appears, resided for the present at New Fairfield. Probably he was now at home on a furlough.

² Fishkill Village is on Fishkill Creek, 8½ miles from the Hudson River, and sixteen miles from Poughkeepsie. Here a portion of the American troops were located during the war. Their barracks were about half a mile south of the village.

Took my lodgings at Major Griffin's.—Fri., 15., and Sat., 16. Performing Chaplain's duty and visiting one Potter, in the Guard House, who is condemned to be shot.—Sab., 17. Preached to Col. Nixon's regiment, from Heb. 12: 25, and in the Presbyterian meeting house in Fishkill in the afternoon, from Rev. 3: 20.—Mon., 18. Visited the sick and Potter the criminal.—Tues., 19. I went to West Point, about ten miles below Fishkill, on the North River, where I tarried and performed Chaplain's duty in Col. Putnam's¹ regiment till the 20th.—Sab., 24. Preached a sermon to Col. Putnam's regiment, from Isa. 3: 10.—Tues., 26. I went to Major Griffin's, where I tarried till Saturday, 30th, when I went to West Point.—Sab., 31. It was so stormy as to prevent public exposure.—Monday, June 1st, Tues. and Wed. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Thurs., 4.—Sat., 6. In camp performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab., 7. Preached a sermon on the island where Fort Constitution² was erected, to Col. Greston's³ regiment, from Ezek. 33: 11. It was raining in the forenoon, which prevented my preaching to Col. Putnam's regiment at West Point.—Mon., 8.—Thurs., 11. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Fri., 12. Went to see the ruins of Fort Clinton⁴ and Fort Montgomery.—Sat., 13. Went to Major Griffin's in Fishkill.—Sab., 14. Preached in the Presbyterian meeting house in Fishkill, from Ezek. 33: 11, in the afternoon. Mr. Mason from New York preached in the forenoon.—Mon., 15. Went to camp and was informed that Mr. David Avery⁵ supplied my troops agreeably to his promise.—Tues., 16.—Sat., 20. Performing

¹ Major General Putnam, familiarly called Colonel by the Chaplain. His commanding officer, General Nixon, he also calls Colonel in the same way.

² This Fort was erected on Martelaer's rock, now Constitution Island, as early as November, 1775.

³ John Greston, of Massachusetts. He was made a Brigadier-General, January 7, 1783.

⁴ These Forts, which were erected in 1775, are on Pooplopen's Creek, six miles below West Point. They fell into the hands of the British on the 6th of October, 1777, after a most gallant resistance by the garrisons under the command of George and James Clinton. The Rev. John Gano, who was the Chaplain, in his memoirs, published in 1808, gives a graphic account of the engagement. The Americans, as he states, lost in all 300 men, while the enemy lost 1,100 men, including eighteen captains and two field officers.

⁵ Mr. Avery was born in Norwich, Conn., in 1746; graduated at Yale in 1769; installed in 1773 as Pastor of a Congregational Church in Vermont. In 1777, he entered the army as a Chaplain, and remained three years. He was at the taking of Burgoyne, at the capture of the Hessians at Trenton, and in the battle of Princeton. He was a man of commanding presence, a good preacher, and a brave Chaplain. Like Smith, he was a follower of Whitefield, and believed in revivals. His theology was of the Edwards type.

Chaplain's duty.—*Sab.*, 21. Preached a sermon to Col. Putnam's regiment, from *Psalms* 50: 22.—*Mon.*, 22.—*Thurs.*, 25. Performing Chaplain's duty in Col. Putnam's regiment on Putnam's Heights at West Point.—*Fri.*, 26. Left West Point with Col. Putnam's regiment and marched to Peekskill.¹ Took my lodgings with Gen. Nixon. Tarried at Peekskill till Wednesday following.—*Sab.*, 28. Preached a sermon to Col. Putnam's, Col. Poor's, and Col. Wood's regiments, from *Titus* 2: 14.

Wed., July 1. Gen. Nixon's brigade with the rest of the army marched for White Plains, with which I went. That night lodged at Croton's Bridge.—*Thurs.*, 2. Arrived at Esquire Young's about three miles from White Plains, where the Court House is.—*Fri.*, 3. Marched to Chatterton's Hill,² where Gen. Nixon's brigade encamped.—*Sat.*, 4. Performing Chaplain's duty in the brigade, which consists of Col. Putnam's, Col. Nixon's, and Col. Groaton's regiments, at present. Alden's regiment, which belongs to the brigade, has not joined, being yet at Albany.—*Sab.*, 5. Preached two sermons to said brigade, from *1 Peter* 3: 13, and *Rev.* 15: 3.—*Mon.*, 6, *Fri.*, 10. Performing Chaplain's duty in the brigade. I moved with the brigade just in the edge of North Castle³ from Chatterton's Hill in the edge of Phillips Manor.—*Sab.*, 12. The brigade, on account of moving, could not attend divine service; accordingly I went to King's Street and preached to the inhabitants there, in the Baptist meeting house,⁴ from *Ex.* 15: 2. Returned on Monday.—*Tues.*, 13, *Sat.*, 18. Performing Chaplain's duty.—*Sab.*, 19. Preached a sermon to Gen. Nixon's brigade, from *Isa.* 52: 7, or rather two regiments in the edge of North Castle.—*Mon.*, 20, *Sat.*, 25. Performing Chaplain's duty.—*Sab.*, 26. Preached a sermon to Gen. Nix-

¹ A town on the east banks of the Hudson, twelve miles north of Ring Sing. Verplanck's Point and Continental Village, places distinguished in the Revolutionary War, are within the limits of this town. Here is the birthplace of John Paulding, who intercepted Andre at Tarrytown. A monument has been erected to his memory.

² A commanding eminence in the vicinity of White Plains, where McDougall was stationed, in the memorable engagement of Oct., 1776. The American forces were commanded by Washington, and the British by Howe. In a hollow on the south-west side of the hill are the graves of many of the slain.

³ It was to the Military Station at North Castle that Andre was conducted by his captors, Sept., 1780, and delivered up to Lieutenant-Colonel Jameson, the officer in command.

⁴ According to Benedict, a Baptist church was formed in Stamford, Conn., in 1772. Most of the first members were baptized by the Rev. John Gano, and added to the First, or Gold Street, Church New York, then under his pastoral care. This is probably the church where Chaplain Smith preached.

on's brigade, from Mal. 2: 6. In the evening, I preached at John Brown's in Hoggpen Ridge, from the last clause of Mal. 2: 6: "And did turn many away from iniquity."—Mon., 27. Our brigade moved to White Plains, and formed in the left division of the front line of the army.—Tues., 28. About Camp.—Wed., 29. Gen. Nixon and I moved near the brigade, on which day I visited two condemned criminals in the Provost Guard.—Thurs., 30. Visited the prisoners in the Provost, and performed Chaplain's duty, as I also did on the 31st.—Aug., 1. At Gen. Nixon's desire I went the rounds with him.—Sat., 2. I preached a sermon to our brigade, from Mal. 2: 5. His Excellency General Washington¹ attended. I dined with him the same day.—Mon., 3.—Sat., 8. Performing Chaplain's duty and visiting the criminals in the Provost, there being ten under sentence of death.—Sat., 9. The rain prevented my preaching to my brigade at 11 o'clock, the time appointed. In the afternoon, I preached in King's Street to the inhabitants, from Hos. 14: 2. In the evening at Hoggpen Ridge, in Mr. Brown's house, from John 4: 8: "For God is love."—Mon., 10.—Sat., 15. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Sat., 16. Prevented preaching on account of the rain. Visited the criminals in the Provost who are ordered to be executed the day following.—Mon., 17. Attended eleven persons under sentence of death to their place of execution, and went to prayers with them.² One only was executed, viz., Alexander Graham, and the others were respited till Friday, and were then paroled.—Tues., 18.—Sat., 22. Performing Chaplain's duty. Tues., I married John Gartsca, of New Haven, to Elizabeth Gossman, of Marble Head; and on Sat., 22, I married William Dugan to Jane Hulet, both of Virginia.—Sat., 23. I preached a sermon to my brigade, from Isa. 49: 7, and in the afternoon I preached a sermon in King's Street, from 1 Cor. 2: 2. In the evening, I preached another sermon in Hoggpen Ridge,

¹ Washington had recently marched with his army from the Jerseys. It is interesting to note how faithful he was in his attendance upon public worship as conducted by the several Chaplains. Mr. Smith was one in whom he had special confidence as a man of piety and intelligence, and disinterested patriotism. His commanding officer, Nixon, was glad, it appears, to have the distinguished Chaplain on his personal staff as he "went the rounds" in the presence of the Commander-in-Chief.

² Among the Smith papers is an address, composed, the author writes at the end, "to deliver upon Gallows Hill, at White Plains, previous to the execution of eleven criminals, who were under sentence of death, 1778." It is an admirable plea in behalf of law and good government, showing the necessity of punishments, and explaining the necessity of strict army regulations. At the close, he addresses the criminals in affectionate terms, commending them to God and the word of his grace.

from Titus 2: 14.—Mon., 24. Returned to camp.—Tues., 25—Sat., 29. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab., 30. Preached to my brigade, from Prov. 15: 9, and in the afternoon at King's Street, from Prov. 15: 9. In the evening, I preached at Hoggpen Ridge, from Isa. 3: 10, 11.—Mon., 31. Returned to camp.—Tues., Sept. 1—Sat., 5. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab., 6. Preached a sermon from Psalms 141: 1, to Gen. Paterson's brigade. Dr. Hitchcock¹ and I exchanged. Mon., 7—Sat., 12. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab., 13. Preached a sermon to Gen. Nixon's brigade, from Jer. 9: 23, 24.—Mon., 14. About home and visiting the sick.—Tues., 15. Attended the execution of Matthias Callehart, of Rye, and delivered a speech upon the occasion to the army.—Wed., 16. We decamped from the White Plains, i. e., the whole army which was there, and marched in three grand divisions: the right wing commanded by Gen. Putnam, up the North River, the middle division commanded by Lord Stirling,² in a direct course through North Castle to Fredericksburgh; and the left division, under Gen. McDougall,³ through Bedford to Danbury.—Thurs., 17—Fri., 18. On the road.—Sat., 19. I got to Danbury, though the division did not arrive till the day following.—Sab., 20. The division arrived and joined Gen. Gates' division at Danbury, he having the command of the whole. I could not preach to my troops to-day on account of this moving. Gen. Nixon and I took quarters at Mrs. Cornwall's, about three miles out of town.—N. B. On Friday I married Patrick Cary and Anna Johnston, both of Ireland.—Mon., 21—Sat., 26. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab., 27. Preached a sermon to my brigade from 1 Peter 1: 19, and another sermon I preached in the Congregationalist⁴ meet-

¹ The Rev. Enos Hitchcock, D. D. He was a native of Springfield, Massachusetts; was graduated at Harvard College in 1767; was ordained in 1771 as a colleague of the Rev. Mr. Chipman, in Beverly. At the commencement of the war he was appointed a chaplain, and continued in the army, with intervals, until Oct. 1, 1783, when he was installed as Pastor of the Benevolent Congregational Church and Society in Providence, Rhode Island. Here he continued nineteen years, useful as a citizen and beloved and esteemed as an able and faithful minister of the gospel. He was chosen a Fellow of the College, and labored zealously with President Manning and his fellow Chaplain Smith, in advancing the best interests of the Institution. He paid great attention to the education of youth, and in connection with Manning secured the final establishment of public schools. At his death, he left the Society the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars as a fund for the support of the ministry.

² Lord Stirling, of New Jersey, was made a Major-General, Feb. 19, 1777. Alexander McDougall, of New York, was made a Major-General Oct. 20, 1777.

³ The first Congregational Church in Danbury, was organized in 1696. The Pastor at this time was Rev. Ebenezer Bradford.

ing house in Danbury, to their congregation, from Titus 2: 14.—Mon., 28—Wed., 30. Performing Chaplain's duty. In the evening of the 30th, our brigade moved from Danbury towards Fredericksburgh. Thurs., Oct., 1. The brigade arrived at the edge of Fredericksburgh, where the men encamped. We took our quarters at John Tweedy's in Dutchess County, in the South East Precinct, or Oblong, about one mile from the brigade.—Fri., 2—Sat., 3. Performing Chaplain's duty and preparing for the Sabbath.—Sab., 4. Prevented from preaching by reason of rain.—Mon., 5—Fri., 9. Performing Chaplain's duty. Preached a sermon at Seth Nickerford's, in Oblong, from Matt. 22: 42.—Sat., 10. Preached a sermon at Daniel Ball's, in New Fairfield, from Gen. 24: 50.—Sab., 11. I preached another sermon at Daniel Ball's, from John 3: 3. It was so rainy I could not preach to the brigade.—Mon., 12—Fri., 16. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Saturday, Oct. 17, was the anniversary of Gen. Burgoyne's surrender, which was observed as a day of festivity by the army. Thirteen cannon were fired, or rather two cannon were fired thirteen times between 7 and 12 o'clock, after which an entertainment was given by the Massachusetts officers. In the evening, sky-rockets and other works were performed.—Sab., 18. Preached to my brigade, from 2 Peter 1: 8.—Mon., 19—Thurs., 22. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Fri., 23. We marched from Fredericksburgh with Gen. Parsons' and Gen. Huntington's brigades under the command of Gen. McDougall, to the borders of New Milford. Gen. Nixon and his family with myself, lodged at Ebenezer Garland's.—Sat., 24. Marched to J. Hill's in New Milford, and put up at David Merwin's.—Sab., 25.—Preached to my brigade, from Ps. 27: 14.—Mon., 26—Fri., 30. Our brigade moved to Roxbury, a Precinct in Woodbury. Gen. Nixon and I took our quarters at Ebenezer Lacy's.—Sat., 31. Preparing for Sabbath.—Sab., Nov. 1. The weather would not permit attending service in the brigade, so that I preached in Mr. Canfield's¹ meeting house to his congregation from Hos. 14: 2 and Heb. 12: 25. Mon., 2—Sat., 7. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab., 8. Preached two sermons to the Rev. Mr. Canfield's people and my brigade, in his pulpit in Roxbury, from 2 Cor. 5: 17 and Titus 2: 13.—Mon., 9. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Tues., 10. Set out for Haverhill in company with Gen. Nixon. That night lodged at Mr. Miriam's in Southampton.—Wed., 11. Went to Mr. Lewis' in Farrington. Lodged there by reason of a rain which prevented our proceeding on our jour-

¹ The Rev. Thos. Canfield, who was Pastor of the Congregational Church in Roxbury, from its organization, 1744, until 1795.

ney.—Thurs., 12. Went to Snow's in Ashford. Lodged there.—Fri., 13. Went to Grafton and lodged at Mr. Prince's.—Sat., 14. Went to Gen. Nixon's in Framingham. Tarried there till Monday, when we set out for Boston. I lodged at Mr. Black's in Boston two nights.—Wed., 18. Went home and found my family well through with the small-pox.¹—Thurs., 19—Sat., 21. Visiting and in my study.—Sab., 22. Preached two sermons in my pulpit in Haverhill, from Isa. 45: 22. "Look unto me and be ye saved all the ends of the earth: for I am God and there is none else."—Mon., 23—Wed., 25. About home and procuring necessaries for my family.—Thursday, Nov. 26, was Thanksgiving in Massachusetts Bay.¹ I preached a sermon on the occasion in my pulpit in Haverhill, from Jer. 9: 23-24, "Thus saith the Lord, Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his riches: but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord which exercise lovingkindness, judgment and righteousness in the earth: for in these things I delight, saith the Lord."—Fri., 27, was preparatory for the Sacrament. I preached a sermon on the occasion, from John 1: 9.—Sat. 28. Attended the funeral of Samuel Shephard.—Sab. 29. Preached two sermons from 1 Kings 11: 9, and Col. 1: 26, after which administered the Sacrament of the Supper and admitted Mr. Farington and Miss Ford into the Church.—Mon., 30—Tues., Dec., 1. About home.—Wed., 2. Visited the sick at New Salem.—Thurs., 3. Chopping wood.—Friday, 4. About home.—Sat., 5. In my study.—Sab., 6. Preached two sermons in my pulpit in Haverhill from Prov. 15: 9.

Mr. Smith was at home this time on a six months' furlough. His diary shows that he was as active as ever in the discharge of his pastoral duties, preaching in his own pulpit, and in the neighboring towns, where his labors seem to have been specially acceptable. His church, which numbered at this time one hundred and sixty members, being the largest connected with the

¹ In 1777, says the historian, the small-pox again visited this vicinity, and caused great alarm. A town meeting was called, April 8, to see if the town would erect an "Inoculating Hospital." This the town refused to do, but chose instead a committee to act with the select men in preventing the spread of the disease. The next year, however, it was found that additional measures were necessary, and in June it was voted to "give leave and admit of inoculation in the town."

Warren Association, continued prosperous, notwithstanding the protracted absence of the pastor, from year to year, in the army.—Thursday, Dec. 10, he preached a sermon at Capt. Jones' in New Salem, New Hampshire, it being Thanksgiving in that State.—Sab., Nov. 27. On account of the severe cold, he preached only one sermon in his own meeting house.—Wed., Dec. 30. It being "Continental Thanksgiving,"¹ he preached a sermon on the occasion in his pulpit, from Amos 5: 21. The closing day of the year he spent at "Father Tyler's," Mrs. Tyler being the mother of "Hephzibah Kimball," his wife.—On Friday, Jan. 1, 1779, he preached a sermon in the North meeting house in Bradford, from John 1: 1, and in the evening at Asa Plumer's in North Rowley, from 1 Thes. 4: 7.—Tues., Jan. 26, he writes: "Deacon Shepard's, Joseph Atwood's, John Silver's, Simon Ayres', Peter Carlton's, and Joseph Hayne's teams brought me six loads of wood from my wood-lot."—Sab., Jan. 31, he writes: "I preached two sermons in my pulpit from Matt. 26: 10, and 1 Peter 4: 9,

¹ The recommendation for the observance of this day reads as follows:—

"It having pleased Almighty God, through the course of the present year, to bestow many great and manifold mercies on the people of these United States; and it being the indispensable duty of all men gratefully to acknowledge their obligations to him for benefits received:

"Resolved, That it be, and hereby is recommended to the Legislative or Executive authority of each of the said States, to appoint Wednesday, the 30th of December next, to be observed as a day of public thanksgiving and praise, that all people may, with united hearts, on that day, express a just sense of his unmerited favors; particularly in that it hath pleased him, by his overruling providence, to support us in a just and necessary war, for the defence of our rights and liberties, by affording us reasonable supplies for our armies, by disposing the heart of a powerful monarch to enter into alliance with us, and aid our cause by defeating the counsels and evil designs of our enemies, and giving us victory over their troops; and, by continuing that union among these States, which, by his blessing, will be their future strength and glory.

"Done in Congress, this 17th day of November, 1778, and in the third year of the Independence of the United States of America."

and after the last amen had a contribution for the poor at Cipe Ann. Collected one hundred and ten dollars, besides a promise of two and a half bushels of corn."—Fri., Feb. 12, he writes: "Mr. Temple, Mr. Duncan, Mr. John White, Esquire White, Mr. Sparhawk, and Capt. McFarland dined with me."—Mon., March 15, he went to Atkinson "to hear what could be said respecting the boundaries of land which Mrs. Smith sold, which is now in dispute."—Mon., 22, he attended the funeral of Capt. Greenleaf's wife.

During the present furlough Mr. Smith addressed the following communication to his Society. It shows a loving spirit, and sets forth in a clear light the relations which should always exist between pastor and people. The immediate object of the communication was to remind the Society of their shortcomings in the payment of his salary for the past seven years. The deficiency, amounting to £54, was promptly and cheerfully paid, as the records show.

MEN, BRETHREN, AND FATHERS: In this day of distress, calamity, and extortion, you cannot be insensible, that particular individuals must be great sufferers, although they might have had something handsome in their hands, before the commencement of the present unhappy war. The law of nature, the law of religion, and the moral law, all conspire to enforce justice and righteousness amongst mankind. The law of nature abhors oppression. The law of religion is evangelical liberty, which precludes licentiousness and injustice. The moral law directs to love your neighbor as yourself, and to do to others as you would have others do to you. The complaints of ministers to people respecting their maintenance are often attended either with neglect or contempt, for this reason:—when any people are heartily desirous of the continuance of their minister amongst them, it should be their study to remove all just occasion of complaints on that head. Then if it should appear that he is avaricious, unreasonable, and overbearing, he would be justly exposed to censure. Per-

fect harmony between minister and people is productive of great usefulness and many salutary effects. This blessing, I highly esteem, and would rather be bound by the mutual cords of love and friendship than all the human laws in the world. I should be wanting in my duty to you, if I should neglect mentioning the sensible obligations I am under to you, for your cordial condescension to me, in giving your consent that I might act my pleasure in serving my country in the army for a certain space of time; and the friendly disposition you have discovered to me and my family during the same. Let me inform you that the depreciation of our currency, and the unreasonable prices of the necessary articles of life, have so sensibly affected my temporal interests, that I am driven to the painful necessity of mentioning, that the balance due to me since the year 1770, to June 1, 1777, would be very acceptable, which is £54-12s-4½d. For my service amongst you when at home the last year, which was between four and five months, and the present, which will be about five months, I have no demands, only gratefully acknowledge the liberality of a number of my friends, who have given me incontestable proofs of their generosity; besides that branch of the Society who reside at New Rowley, who, as a people, have given undeniable evidence of their attachment to the gospel, in their generous benefactions; who also, from year to year, ever since 1770, have paid their proportionable part towards my support. In paying the £54-12-4½ I shall leave it to the honor of the Society to make what allowance for the depreciation of the currency they shall think just and reasonable. To assist you in doing this it might be proper to know the deficiencies of each year, which are as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
June 1, 1770, to June 1, 1771.....	16	13	4
" 1771, " " 1772.....	6	7	4½
" 1772, " " 1773.....	10	12	6½
" 1773, " " 1774.....	11	2	8
" 1774, " " 1775.....	18	0	4
" 1775, " " 1776.....	12	16	7½
" 1776, " " 1777.....	19	4	2
	£93	17	0½
Cr. by contributions at different times.....	30	4	8
	£54	12	4½

As my present exigency obliged me to make known to you what is

here written, I cannot but promise myself a speedy redress, in doing which you will much oblige

Your sincere friend and Pastor,

HEZEKIAH SMITH.

HAVERHILL, March 28, 1779.

The year 1778 had not been so marked by stirring and important events in the great national struggle for independence as the year previous. In June Philadelphia had been evacuated by the British, who marched toward New York, pursued by Washington. On the 28th occurred the battle of Monmouth. In August, an attempt was made to take Newport, and on the 29th was the memorable battle on Rhode Island, the Americans under the command of Sullivan. In September, an expedition from Newport burned the towns of New Bedford and Fairhaven, and levied a heavy contribution of cattle and sheep on the defenceless island of Martha's Vineyard. The month following, an expedition from New York burned Egg Harbor in New Jersey, and ravaged all the surrounding country. During the winter, the American Army, as has already been seen from the diary, were huddled in a line of cantonments, extending from Danbury in Connecticut, across the Hudson at West Point, to Elizabethtown in New Jersey. The year 1779 opened with discouraging prospects. Congress was at its lowest ebb, the members in attendance seldom exceeding thirty. Many of the ablest men had left for their respective homes. With one hundred millions of Continental paper in circulation, Congress commenced a new year by authorizing fifty millions more. In consequence of the rapid depreciation of this paper, speculation, fraud and extortion prevailed on every hand, calling forth the severest censures on the part of the Commander-in-Chief. It was

under these circumstances that Smith once more set out for the army. His military journal thus reads:—

April 16, 1779. I left Haverhill, accompanied by Mrs. Smith to Boxford. Tarried that night at Father Tyler's.—Sat., 17. Went to New Rowley.—Sab., 18. Preached two sermons in the North Meeting House in Bradford, from 1 Peter 4: 14, and 3 Epistle of John 14.—Mon., 19. Went to Ipswich.—Tues., 20. Went to Boston, and tarried there till the 23d. Then set out and went to Framingham that night.—Sat., 24. Went to Mr. Joseph Brown's in Grafton.—Sab., 25. Preached a sermon in the Baptist meeting house in Grafton, from Isa. 12: 2.—Mon., 26. Went to Mr. Thurber's in Pomfret.—Tues., 27. Went to Mr. Masher's in East Hartford.—Wed., 28. Went to Mr. Hammond's in Southington.—Thurs., 29. To Danbury.—Fri., 30. Remained at Danbury.—Sat., May 1, 1779. Went to Gen. Nixon's quarters at Colla Burgh on North River. Sab., 2. It was rainy in the morning, and the brigade was much scattered. So that I could not preach to them that day.—Mon., 3.—Wed., 5. About my quarters.—Thurs., 6. Being Continental Fast, I preached two sermons, from Matth. 6: 16–18, one in the forenoon to Col. Putnam's regiment, and the other to Col. Nixon's regiment in the afternoon.—Fri., 7. Went to Gen. McDougall's quarters, about 13 miles from our quarters.—Sat., 8. Reading.—Sab., 9. Preached a sermon to Col. Nixon's regiment, from Prov. 8: 35.—Mon., 10.—Sat., 15. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab., 16. Preached two sermons to our troops from Sol. Song, 5: 16.—Mon., 17. Went to see my relations in the Jerseys, and that evening married Daniel Zeleff and Sarah Smith, both of Knewbrook.—Tues., 18. Preached a sermon at brother Oualiah's, at Knewbrook, from Ex. 15: 2. After sermon, went to see my mother.—Wed., 19.—Sat., 22. Tarried at my brother Peter's, with whom my mother now lives at Chatham.—Sab., 23. Preached two sermons in the Presbyterian meeting house at Bottle Hill,¹ from Isa. 12: 2, and Eccl. 12: 13, 14, and in the evening at Chatham at Dr. Smith's, from Rev. 15: 3.—Tues., 25. Went to camp.—Wed., 26. Moved from Croton to Peekskill.—Thurs., 27.—Sat., 29. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab. 30. Preached a sermon to my brigade, from Eccl. 12: 13.—Mon., 31. We with Gen. Nixon's brigade marched to Continental Village, on account of the enemy advancing up

¹ A small town, formerly a part of Farmington. It was incorporated in 1779.

² A village in Chatham Township, on the line of the Morris and Essex Railroad. It is now called Madison.

the river. The same afternoon the enemy began to fire upon Fort Lafayette, on Verplanck's Point.—Tues., June 1, 1779. The enemy warmly fired upon that Fort, and near the middle of the day it surrendered. The garrison marched out with the honors of war, the officers wearing their side arms. That Fort was commanded by Capt. Armstrong from North Carolina.

Verplanck's Point, under Capt. Armstrong, was garrisoned by seventy men. Stony Point opposite, by thirty. On the 30th of May, which was Sunday, Sir Henry Clinton, says Irving, set out on his second grand cruise up the Hudson, with an armament of about seventy sail, and a land force of five thousand men, under General Vaughan. The first aim of the expedition was to get possession of Stony and Verplanck's Points, which, when completed, would form as it were the lower gates of the Highlands. On Monday, the British took quiet possession of the unfinished fort on Stony Point, the few men in charge having abandoned it on the approach of the enemy, and retreated into the Highlands. At daybreak on Tuesday, a furious fire was opened upon Fort Lafayette. At the same time, continues Irving, it was cannonaded by the armed vessels. Thus surrounded, the little garrison was forced to surrender, with no other stipulation than safety to their persons and to the property they had in the fort. Bancroft says of this event, referring to Moore's diary:—"The commander at Verplanck's Point, waiting to be closely invested by water, on the second of June made an inglorious surrender." Smith says on the first, "The garrison marched out with the honors of war." The following letter to General Gates, then in command of the American forces in Rhode Island, will be interesting, as it gives a detailed account of this event, and of affairs in general at this critical

juncture. It has no date, but was evidently written during the week, probably on Wednesday or Thursday. It will be observed that Armstrong is entirely exonerated:—

DEAR GENERAL: I presume a line at this critical juncture would be acceptable to one whose time and talents are wholly devoted to the service of his injured country and the glorious cause of liberty. The designs of the enemy at New York have been for a long time dubious, but within a few days evident, if their movements, together with the disposition of their troops, are sufficient authority for my judgment. Last Sabbath, we were informed by some deserters, that a large body of Gen. Clinton's army were ordered the day preceding to march into the country, fourteen or sixteen miles from King's Bridge, where they lay; also that a number of shipping were ordered up Hudson's River. Monday last confirmed the information by the appearance of the shipping coming up the river, together with intelligence of a large body of the enemy advancing by land near the river in the afternoon. One galley approached near King's Ferry and exchanged a few shot with Fort Lafayette, on Verplanck's Point. The fleet coming up the river being formidable, and the army numerous by land, it was judged expedient for Gen. Nixon's Brigade stationed at Peekskill to retire to Continental Village. Indeed, the small part of our scattered, divided army stationed at that post, were so far inferior to the enemy, that it would have needlessly exposed the lives of a number of brave officers and men to have endeavored to retard their march. Yesterday, being Tuesday, Fort Lafayette was surrendered to the enemy. Doubtless, Capt. Armstrong of North Carolina, who had the command, thought it needless to hold the Fort any longer, against the united force of the enemy by land and water, when there was not the least prospect of any success or relief from us. In the afternoon, Gen. Nixon's Brigade was ordered to this place, in order to take advantage of the Heights. Our strength here consists of Gen. Nixon's and Gen. Huntington's Brigades. Gen. Parson's Brigade is expected to join soon. Gen. Washington's Army from Middle Brook I understand is on the march this way. Gen. Pattison's and the late Learned's Brigades are at West Point, also the North Carolina troops, with a number of militia. We have undoubted intelligence that the troops which were sent to Virginia lately, and which displayed British or rather Savage barbarity by fire and cruelty, have returned, and that they were not permitted to go ashore at the city of New York, but were ordered directly up North River.

West Point is doubtless their object. If they should succeed (which I pray they may not), it will be of great advantage to them and disadvantage to us. If they should fail, they will be amazingly weakened. The matter has become serious. As the struggles of a dying man are strong, so, doubtless, the last efforts of an expiring power over us will be most violent. I have the honor, dear sir, to subscribe myself

Your most obedient humble servant,
HEZEKIAH SMITH.
HON. GEN. GATES.

The following copy of what was delivered in Brigade orders in the Highlands, is marked on the back:—"An address of Rev. H. Smith to the army." It was probably delivered about this time. By comparing it with the previous letter, and with Gen. Gates' army orders at Saratoga, as published in a previous chapter, the reader will observe throughout a striking similarity of thought and expression, plainly indicating one authorship.

GENTLEMEN, OFFICERS, AND SOLDIERS: Your patriotism, valor, alertness, and conduct in times of difficulty and danger have exhibited such striking proofs of your determined firmness in the glorious cause of your distressed country, and the injured rights of mankind, that I promise myself all probable success under providence, whenever a favorable opportunity shall present itself. Without flattery, from your well known zeal and fortitude in the present struggles for liberty, I can cheerfully and heartily venture my life and liberty in opposing the horrid and gigantic strides of despotism aided by the British and foreign troops, though fierce in their tempers and formidable in appearance. By the present disposition and movements of the enemy we have reason to judge they are meditating some decisive stroke, and, like desperate gamblers, will hazard all at one throw. Should they fail, their army must be ruined, tottering Britain be humbled, the trembling Americans will rejoice, and all the sons of freedom triumph, while undisturbed Liberty will erect her standard, even in the seat of the uncircumcised. Be vigilant, be courageous, be equipped with every necessary to face, fight, drive, and conquer your enemies. You will then be crowned with laurels of success. Your friends, your country, yea both Europe and America, will bless you, and succeeding ages experience the sweets of liberty.

Resuming now the diary:—

Tues., June 1. This day five prisoners were sent in. Two, the day before, and two deserters¹ came to us. This day we retreated up the river within about seven or eight miles from Fishkill.—Wed., 2. The enemy remained about King's Ferry. One deserter came in.—Thurs., 3. About 3,000, with Gen. Clinton, marched through Peckskill as far as the churches. The Gen., viz., Henry Clinton, with a few of his troops went on Regular Hill, examined Mr. Beekman respecting our situation and numbers, and then ordered his troops to return to Peckskill Landing, where their ships lay.—Fri., 4. The enemy with their shipping went down to King's Ferry. Several deserted.—Sat., 5. Several deserters came in and were informed that the Tories lately come from Virginia went down to York to tarry there, and fresh troops embarked on board the vessels to come up to King's Ferry.—Sab., 6. Several deserters came in. No particular movements of the enemy. Performing Chaplain's duty. Preached a sermon to my brigade from Eph. 6: 17.—Mon., 7. Performing Chaplain's duty. This day eight deserters came in from the enemy. They gave no account of any particular movements among them. They remain at Verplanck's Point and on the opposite side of the River.—Tues., 8. We took three prisoners, and received five deserters.—Wed., 9. Nothing particular.—Thurs., 10. The militia at this post were dismissed.—Fri., 11. One deserter came in, the Major Fifer of the Grenadiers.—Sat., 12. Three deserters came in this day, belonging to Cathcart's Legion.—Sab., 13. Prevented from preaching to my brigade by reason of rain. Seven deserters came in to-day, six from Cathcart's Legion, and one from the Queen's Rangers.—Mon., 14. A confirmation of the defeat² of the British Army in South Carolina was received by us.—Tues., 15. Three Hessian deserters from the White Plains, and thirteen deserters came in on the west side of the river.—Wed., 16. Visited Col. Griffin's family at Fishkill.—Thurs., 17. Nothing material.—Fri., 18. This day three Highland deserters came in.—Sat., 19. Orders were given

¹ Prisoners were taken daily, and deserters came in from the British Army, and the "Vulture" or British man-of-war on the Hudson. From June 2 to Sept. 10, the number, as recorded by Smith in his diary, foots up 149.

² May 11. The British army under Prevost summoned Charleston to surrender. Rutledge offered to compromise. An assault was expected, but the works were now strong, and Lincoln was approaching. The British Army, after foraging and plundering for some days among the plantations in the vicinity of Charleston, retired to the island of St. John's, and from thence into Georgia. This could hardly be called a defeat.

out for Gen. Nixon's and Parson's brigades to march to-morrow. Moving at 6 o'clock.

Sab., 20. Gen. Nixon's brigade marched to, and was stationed upon, Constitution Island. This movement prevented my preaching to the brigade this day. Gen. Parson's brigade marched towards Col. Robertson's. In the afternoon, I preached in the Presbyterian meeting house in Fishkill, from Rom. 1: 7.—Mon., 21. Visited Gov. Clinton at Poughkeepsie, and all our sick at Hackensack.—Tues., 22. At Col. Griffin's.—Wed., 23. Went to the brigade on Constitution Island.—Thurs., 24. I attended procession of the Free and Accepted Masons, and heard Dr. Hitchcock deliver a discourse to them on West Point side.

It is interesting to observe, that amid the dangers and excitements of daily conflict, with battles impending, the time-honored ST. JOHN'S DAY was duly observed by the "Craft," which numbered among their members His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, and the leading officers of the American Army.

Heard that the enemy made an excursion at Crompond,¹ and burned several houses.—Fri., 25—Sat., 26. With the brigade.—Sab., 27. Did not preach to the brigade, on account of the great and extraordinary fatigue in throwing up works on the Island. In the afternoon went to Fishkill, and preached in the Presbyterian meeting house, from Heb. 2: 3.—Mon., 28. At Col. Griffin's reading Edwards "On the Freedom of the Will."

This would hardly be called light reading. The Chaplain, as has already been remarked, was a revivalist, and naturally esteemed the writings of so illustrious an exponent of the "New Light" doctrines as Edwards. He had, moreover, a clear intellect and a logical cast of mind,

¹ A little village eight miles from Verplanck's Point. Here, at the parsonage, the Yorktown Committee of Public Safety met; and members of the Provincial Congress assembled there to grant commissions to officers. Col. Robertson who commanded a regiment of Loyalists, was ordered to destroy that post; and piloted by a Tory, he burned the parsonage in the autumn of 1776. Plundering and burning, Smith elsewhere remarks, seems to have been a part of the British policy.

that fitted him to appreciate and enjoy a work like the one here mentioned.

Tues., 29. Visited our sick officers at Hackensack, and then went to George Bloom's at the Sprout.—Wed., 30. Visited the sick at Hackensack.—Thurs., July 1, 1779. Visited the sick.—Fri., 2. Tarried at Mr. Bloom's.—Sat., 3. Visited the sick officers. Went to Col. Griffin's. Tarried there till Monday.—Sabb., 4. Preached two sermons in the Presbyterian meeting house, in Fishkill, from Prov. 8: 35 and Ex. 15: 2.—Mon., 5. Went to the brigade on Constitution Island. That evening for the first time on that island I attended prayers with the brigade.

It would thus appear that the Chaplain was in the habit of attending daily prayers with his brigade. This would certainly be in accordance with the wishes of the Commander-in-Chief, who on all occasions encouraged the performance of religious duties, firmly relying for final success on divine protection and help. Among the Smith papers is a copy of an army order issued at Valley Forge, May 2, 1778, as follows:—

The Commander-in-Chief directs that divine service be performed every Sunday at 11 o'clock in each brigade, where there is a chaplain; those who have not, to attend the place of worship nearest them. It is expected that officers of all ranks will, by their attendance set an example to their men. While we are performing the duty of good citizens and soldiers, we ought not to be inattentive to the higher duties of religion. To the distinguished character of a patriot, it should be our highest glory to add the more distinguished character of a Christian.

Resuming the diary:—

Tues., 6. We had a very heavy shower of rain, attended with lightning and thunder, in the midst of which the lightning killed one of Capt. Whipple's soldiers and shocked many more in Col. Putnam's regiment, 31 of whom were considerably affected, some being deprived of their reason, some not able to walk, only to crawl out of their huts

or tents, and others much scorched with the lightning, so as to be exceeding sore.—Wed., 7—Sat., 10. Studying and performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab., 11. Was prevented from preaching by reason of the rain.—Mon., 12, Tues., 13. Nothing extraordinary.—Wed., 14. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Thurs., 15. Two hundred of the brigade marched down towards Peekskill. Four deserters arrived.—Fri., 16. The remainder of the brigade marched to the Continental village. Two deserters came in this morning. We received the intelligence of Gen. Wayne, with the Light Infantry, storming the enemy's works on Stony Point—which was done by surprise—and taking the garrison. The killed, wounded, and prisoners taken, amounted to about 600, besides 15 pieces of ordnance, a considerable quantity of ammunition, arms, etc.

This celebrated assault was made by Gen. Anthony Wayne, on Friday, July 16, 1779. Bancroft says of it:—"Of the Americans, but 15 were killed; of the British 63; and 543 officers and privates were made prisoners. The war was marked by no more brilliant achievement." Gen. Chas. Lee pronounced it the most brilliant assault in all history. Congress passed resolves highly complimentary to the officers and privates engaged in the enterprise, and confirmed the promise of reward which Gen. Wayne had previously made to his troops. Three different medals were struck, bearing the names respectively of Wayne, Fleury, and Stewart.

Sat., 17. Our brigade, in conjunction with Gen. Paterson's under the command of Gen. Howe,¹ marched near Verplanck's Point and reconnoitered the enemy's works and situation.—Sab., 18. Repaired the bridge by Harry Culenta. Two hundred and fifty of Gen. Nixon's brigade marched on the Point as a covering party, whilst the bridge was repaired. An attack upon the enemy was soon to take place, had not the enemy marched with a superior force from below to Croton, which rendered our retreat from that place necessary. That afternoon

¹ Robert Howe of North Carolina. He was made a Major-General, Oct. 20, 1777.

we retreated to Ball Hill.—Mon., 19. Took our post in the mouth of the Highlands. Last night our people evacuated Stony Point, after dismantling it.—Tues., 20. We moved to Continental Village.—Wed., 21, Thurs., 22. Nothing extraordinary. Two deserters and three prisoners arrived, and we moved to the mouth or gorge of the Highlands.—Fri., 23. Nothing extraordinary.—Sat., 24. Preparing for the Sabbath. Two deserters came in and one prisoner who was a Hessian. A Quarter Master of the Hussars was brought in.—Sab., 25. Rainy day, which prevented my preaching. One deserter to-day.—Mon., 26. Four deserters came in.—Tues. 27., Two deserters.—Wed., 28. Three deserters. Thurs., 29. Five deserters.—Fri., 30. One deserter and three prisoners.—Sat., 31. Two deserters came in.

Among the Smith papers is an address on swearing, which the author adds at the close, was "composed in the gorge of the Highlands, to deliver to Gen. Nixon's brigade on the 31st of July, 1779." We publish it as a picture of the times, and as an illustration of the Chaplain's happy method of imparting instruction and giving reproof. He begins his address with an extract from the army orders of Gen. Washington for July 29th and 30th:—

Many and pointed orders have been issued against the unmeaning and abominable custom of swearing; notwithstanding which, with much regret, the General observes that it prevails, if possible, more than ever. His feelings are continually wounded with the oaths and imprecations of the soldiers whenever he is in hearing of them. The name of that Being from whose bountiful goodness we are permitted to exist and enjoy the comforts of life is incessantly impeached and profaned in a manner as wanton as it is shocking. For the sake, therefore, of religion, decency, and order, the General hopes and trusts, that officers of every rank will use their influence and authority to check a vice, which is as unprofitable as wicked and shameful. If officers would make it an inviolable rule to reprimand and, if that don't do, to punish soldiers for offences of this kind, it could not fail of having the desired effect.

The foregoing order is *sensible*, *pious*, and *polite*. *Sensible*, as to matter, manner, and design. *Pious*, as it censures, opposes, and dis-

countenance a vice pregnant with all the horrors of profaneness, which violates the rules of decency and good order, and is repugnant to our blessed religion. Polite, in the genteel reproof given to profane officers, who are requested to use their influence and authority to check an unprofitable, wicked, and shameful vice;—a vice of which themselves are guilty, and against which it cannot be supposed their efforts will be vigorous, whilst they countenance it with their presence, and in their practice. Would it not appear very humorous to hear the devil rebuke sin, the mere offspring of his own degeneracy? And could he expect any success in suppressing that of which he himself is an avowed, practical patron? Whilst this pointed reproof appears in all the forms of decency and politeness, the virtuous officer is honored and supported in pouring sovereign contempt upon that unprovoked vice, which is an indignity to human nature, and an infringement upon the authority of the Deity. The magnanimous soul of our worthy Patron, in the espoused cause of our injured country, no longer able to conceal his displeasure at this growing evil, bursts forth in striking language, and informs us that his “feelings are continually wounded with the oaths and imprecations of the soldiers, whenever he is in hearing of them.” This conspicuous sincerity accompanies his indignant feelings, in desiring the exertions of the influence and authority of every officer in suppressing profaneness. Let me assure you, Gentlemen, Officers, and Soldiers, that His Excellency is not the only one in the army, whose feelings are repeatedly wounded with this diabolical language. Every pious, conscientious person amongst us is as sensibly affected with it. It is offensive to the pious mind, it excites painful sensations to the conscientious. It is a registered evil in the Court of Heaven. It is a crime, for which the great Jehovah positively declares he will not hold you guiltless, and that for which you must severely suffer, unless repented of. By the authority of Congress, by the rules of decency and politeness, by the earnest and repeated desires of His Excellency, Gen. Washington, by the sacred truth of the holy Scriptures, and in the name and by the authority of the blessed Jesus, I earnestly entreat each one of you to forebear this odious practice of profane swearing, and suppress it in yourselves and in each other, for the future. In doing this, you will do honor to yourselves, you will respect the rules of decency, politeness, and good manners; the laws of morality will be attended to; the recent order of our military commander will be strictly obeyed; your inoffensive language would endear you to the virtuous and pious; it would be a happy preface of reformation, and forebode something good and glori-

ous. I close with the pathetic language of the immaculate Jesus:—"But I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven; for it is God's throne; nor by the earth; for it is his footstool; neither by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King. Neither shalt thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black. But let your communication be, Yea, yea; nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil." AMEN.

The diary continues:—

Sab., Aug. 1, 1779. Eight deserters came in. I preached to my brigade from Matt. 24: 44.—Mon., 2. One deserter came in.—Tues., 3. Gen. Nixon and I moved our quarters to Warren's.—Wed., 4.—Sat., 7. Unwell and doctoring.—Sab., 8. I preached to my brigade, from Gen. 4: 7. Seven deserters came in to-day.—Mon., 9. Attended Chaplain's duty.—Tues., 10. Two deserters from Verplanck's Point.—Wed., 11, Thurs., 12. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Fri., 13. Four prisoners were brought in, and two deserters from the 33d Regiment, besides one refugee who had fled to them, and who had now made his escape from them and come to us.—Sat., 14. Dined with Gen. Heath.¹ Went to West Point and left my watch with Dr. Clapp to be repaired.—Sab., 15. Preached a sermon to my brigade in the gorge of the mountains, or Highlands, from Isa. 27: 13.—Mon., 16. Reconnoitred to Peekskill and performed Chaplain's duty.—Tues., 17. Five deserters came in from Verplanck's Point.—Wed., 18. Paulus Hook² taken by Major Lee, who had 409 men and took 159. Four deserters came in from King's Bridge.—Thurs., 19. One deserter from Verplanck's Point. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Fri., 20. One deserter from Verplanck's Point.—Sat., 21. Two deserters from Verplanck's Point. Studying.—Sab., 22. Prevented from preaching to my brigade on account of the rain. In the afternoon preached a sermon at Gov. Drake's to the inhabitants, from Titus 2: 14. One deserter this day from King's Bridge.—Mon., 23.—Sat., 28. Performing Chaplain's duty. During the week we received intelligence that a reinforcement

¹ William Heath, of Massachusetts. He was made a Major-General, Aug. 8, 1776.

² Paulus Hook is a sandy peninsular, and at that time was connected with the main by a narrow, marshy neck. Upon this peninsular, the British had erected strong works, using it as an outpost while in the possession of New York. The attack was made at 2 o'clock in the morning. Major Lee promptly retreated with his prisoners, and at 10 o'clock arrived at camp in triumph, having lost but two killed and three wounded. This gallant act was greatly applauded throughout the country, and served to make the enemy more cautious than heretofore.

arrived at New York, with Arbuthnot,¹ consisting of near 6,000 troops. Also that our fleet, which went to Penobscot, was driven by the enemy up Penobscot River, when our people burned it, and made their escape by land. Likewise, that we had taken ten ships loaded with West India goods from Janinica, five or six of which had arrived at Boston, having on board 5,000 hogshheads of sugar, besides a great quantity of Rum and other articles. On the night of the 25th ten militia near Col. Drake's stopped a number of men who were on horseback going down to the enemy, killed one of them, and took twelve horses, besides saddles, bridles, and a number of articles they had with them.—Sat., 29. Preached a sermon to my brigade, from Acts 13: 38, in the forenoon; and in the afternoon preached another sermon at Gov. Drake's, from Isa. 3: 10, 11.—Mon., 30, Tues., 31, Wed., Sept. 1, 1779, Thurs., 2. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Fri., 3. Two deserters from King's Bridge and one deserter from Verplanck's Point came in to us.—Sat., 4. Two deserters came in, one a Hessian, from King's Bridge, the other a sailor from the Vulture sloop of war. Preparing for the Sabbath.—Sat., 5. Preached a sermon to my brigade, from Acts 13: 39.—Mon., 6, Tues., 7. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Wed., 8. Four deserters came in, two Light Heralds from King's Bridge with their horses, and two of Col. Fanning's Corps on Verplanck's Point. This day heard that Gen. Sullivan² has had great

¹ The arrival of Admiral Arbuthnot, says Irving, with a fleet bringing three thousand troops and a supply of provisions and stores, strengthened the hands of Sir Henry Clinton. Washington, by his diligence in fortifying West Point, had rendered that fastness of the Highlands impregnable. Clinton therefore turned his thoughts towards the South. At this juncture, news was received of the arrival of the Count D'Etaing, with a formidable fleet, on the coast of Georgia. A combined attack on New York was again talked of. Washington called on several of the Middle States for reinforcements and supplies, and Clinton caused Rhode Island to be evacuated, the garrisons brought off from Stony and Verplanck's Points, and all his forces to be concentrated, and put in a posture of defence.

² John Sullivan of New Hampshire. He was made a Major-General, Aug. 9, 1776. In February, 1779, Congress directed Washington to take measures to protect the frontiers and punish the Indians. In pursuance of this object, an army of 3,000 men was gathered at Wyoming, and placed under the command of Sullivan. This army was to march northward to Tioga Point, where it was to be joined by another army of 1,000 men under command of General James Clinton. Sullivan's army was accompanied by Smith's friend, William Rogers, who was appointed Brigade Chaplain, in 1778. Clinton's army was accompanied by Chaplain Gano. In his "Biographical Memoirs," published in 1800, by his son Dr. Stephen Gano, he has given a graphic account of marches and battles during this expedition. The Journal of Dr. Rogers in this expedition against the Six Nations has been published by Sidney S. Rider, of Providence, making it No. 7 of his celebrated "Rhode Island Historical Tracts."

success against the Indians. Also that Count D'Estaing has taken a 74 gun ship, and another vessel, convoyed by the 74 gun ship, loaded with masts, spars, cordage, etc.—Thurs., 9. Nothing material.—Fri., 10. Married Caleb Bradley belonging to the army to Catharine Bell, in Phillip's Precinct.—Sat., 11. Preparing for the Sabbath.—Sab., 12. Preached in the forenoon to my brigade, from Luke 19: 27, and in the afternoon, from Heb. 12: 1, in Konnopus Hollow.—Mon., 13. Four deserters came in from the Vulture sloop of war in North River, who said that a French fleet of 40 sail were anchored near the Light House, and that the Reasonable Ship of 64 guns was chased in last Friday.—Tues., 14. In the evening married Corporal John Albee of Col. Putnam's regiment, to Mary Waters, of said regiment. Also Thos. Stevens of Col. Groaton's regiment to Jenny Ryder of said regiment. Also heard that Fort Detroit¹ was taken by Col. Clark.—Wed., 15. Married Elisha Hammon, Quarter Master to Col. Putnam's regiment, to Catharine Gardner, and in the evening married Solvenus Colbee to Sarah Smith. Also Amon Jones to Sarah De Pew. This evening received orders to march to-morrow.—Thurs., 16. We marched to Crompond.—Fri., 17. We marched to Pine's Bridge, on Croton.—Sat., 18. Marched to North Castle.—Sab., 19. Marched to Bedford, which prevented my preaching to the brigade. Encamped there. Gen. Nixon and I took quarters at Judge Drake's.—Mon., 20—Sat., 25. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab., 26. Prevented from preaching to the brigade on account of the rain, though I preached a sermon to the inhabitants in a private house, from Gen. 47: 49.

The following letter was addressed to Mr. Dean Tyler, care of Jonathan Webster, Esq., Representative of Haverhill. Mr. Tyler was probably a son of "Father Tyler."

CAMP BEDFORD, *Sept. 27, 1779.*

DEAR BROTHER:—Your acceptable favor of the 1st inst., came safe to hand this evening. Am pleased to hear of your safe return to Haverhill and of your good success to the Eastward. Hope it will finally turn out much to your advantage. Were you now here with a cargo of West India goods, it would turn to good advantage. The prices of various

¹ This Fort was taken Feb. 23, 1779. There were no telegraphs in those days, and the country around Detroit was unsettled. Of course, information of this kind could only be obtained at intervals.

articles you may see mentioned in Mrs. Smith's letter, which was written this evening when I was ignorant of your situation, or rather of where you were. I am sensible you must be at a loss at present, respecting trade; but it is my opinion that the regulating act will not continue long, as Connecticut has not conceded to it, neither do I believe they will. I understand they are in great confusion at Philadelphia respecting this regulation, and it is judged they will soon fall through. Things are excessively dear here, and should the enemy remain one campaign more in New York, I believe articles will be much higher still. But this is only my opinion. We are informed that eight thousand of the enemy have either embarked, or are embarking at New York; but we know not whither they are bound. As to the supplies for my family, I shall leave that with Mrs. Smith and yourself. One barrel of pork I mentioned in Mrs. Smith's letter. I heartily sympathize with Mr. Sparhawk in his loss. Hope it may be sanctified to him. Please to present my compliments to him. We see how uncertain human life is. You inform me that the Misses White are courted. I hope, if life should be spared, to return soon enough to be an eye witness to their nuptial happiness. Please to give my compliments to Mr. Osgood with the young gentlemen of the family. Also to Major Bartlett with his lady and the children.

Dear Brother, I wish you all possible happiness,

And remain, yours unfeignedly,

HEZEKIAH SMITH.

Mon., 27—Sat., Oct. 2. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Sat., 3. Mr. Vanhorn¹ preached to my brigade and I preached in the Presbyterian meeting house in Ridgefield, to the inhabitants, for the benefit of Mrs. Ferguson the widow of the late minister of that place, in the forenoon, from Isa. 45: 22; and in the afternoon, from Exel. 12: 14. That evening went to Danbury and tarried at my Aunt Dible's till Tuesday. Then returned to Ridgefield and tarried that night at Mr. Keeler's.—Wed., 6. Our brigade moved near North Castle Church in Bedford, New Purchase.—Thurs., 7. Remained there.—Fri., 8. Continued

¹ Rev. William Vanhorn, for thirteen years Pastor of the Southampton Baptist Church, Pennsylvania, and for twenty-two years Pastor of the Scotch Main Church, New Jersey. He was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, July 8, 1747, and was graduated at the Academy of Dr. Samuel Jones. During the war of the Revolution he was a Chaplain in the army, where he rendered most efficient service. He was a warm personal friend of Manning and Smith, and a knower in the denomination to which he was attached.

there.—Sat., 9. Moved the brigade to Pine's Bridge in the manner of Cortlandt. Gen. Nixon and I took our quarters with Caleb Sutton, the west side of Croton River.—Sab., 10. I preached a sermon to my brigade, from Luke 3: 14, in the forenoon; and in the afternoon I preached a sermon to the inhabitants in Bedford, New Purchase, at Mr. Huggin's from John 14: 21. In the evening, preached another sermon in the same neighborhood, from 1 Cor. 9: 24.—Mon., 11. Returned to camp and received the intelligence that the British troops were all taken in Georgia.—Tues., 12—Sat., 16. Studying and performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab., Oct. 17, 1779. Being the anniversary of Gen. Burgoyne's surrender, preached¹ to my brigade from Isa. 26: 8. That evening we had for parole "Gates," and countersign "Saratoga Convention." In the evening, preached to the inhabitants of Bedford, New Purchase, from Heb. 12: 25. Last week we took fourteen prisoners.—Mon., 18. Returned to camp. In the evening parole, "Yesterday;" countersign, "Gates, Burgoyne."—Tues., 19, Wed., 20. Nothing extraordinary.—Thurs., 21. The enemy evacuated Verplanck's Point and Stony Point.—Fri., 22, Sat., 23. Writing letters and waiting upon Col. Freeman of Sandwich, and Major Osgood of Andover, who were a committee to the army from the General Court, and performing Chaplain's duty.—Sab., 24. Preached to my brigade, from Isa. 61: 10, after which I attended the funeral of Corporal Davis of Capt. Whipple's company.—Mon., 25. Went in company with a number of officers to see the enemy's works on Verplanck's Point and Stony Point.—Tues., 26. Attending to my duty.—Wed., 27. In the evening I married Thomas Wheeler of Col. Nixon's regiment, to Phebe Green.—Thurs., 28. Nothing extraordinary.—Fri., 29. Gen. Howe's Division, which consisted of Gen. Nixon's and Gen. Glover's brigades, removed from Pine's Bridge, and encamped about two miles from Peekskill Village, on the left of Gen. Parson's and Gen. Huntington's brigades, which was commanded by Gen. Heath, who was Gen. Howe's senior officer.—Sat., 30. Gen. Nixon and I took our quarters at Esq. Hawes'—Sab., 31. I preached to my brigade, from Luke 10: 22.—Monday, November 1. I went to West Point, received my pay to the last of October, dined with Washington, tarried that night with Chaplain Avery, and the next day went to Fishkill, and visited the sick. Lodged at Col. Griffin's. The next day visited the sick and returned to my quarters at Esquire Hawes'.—Thurs., 4.

¹ This sermon, which bears evidence of special care in its preparation, forms the conclusion of Chapter V., of the present work. It should be carefully read by those who would become acquainted with the author's style, and who would study this important period of our American history.

Visited a sick man near Pine's Bridge.—Fri., 5, Sat., 6. Performing Chaplain's duty and studying.—Sabb., 7. Prevented from preaching on account of the inclement season.—Mon., 8. Performing Chaplain's duty.—Tues., 9. Visited Quarter-master Hammond, who is sick¹ at Collaburgh, and visited a poor criminal in the Provost under sentence of death.—Wed., 10. Visited the criminal again, whose name is Josiah Edwards.—Thurs., 11. Visited Quarter-master Hammond at Collaburgh.—Fri., 12. Attended the execution of Josiah Edwards.¹ Went to prayers with him before he was executed on Gallows Hill in Peekskill.—Sat., 13. Preparing for the Sabbath.—Sabb., 14. Preached to my brigade in the forenoon, from 1 Peter 3: 18; and in the afternoon at Gov. Drake's, from Ezekiel 33: 11.—Mon., 15.—Fri., 19. Nothing extraordinary, only we received the arrangement for the army for winter quarters. Also got a furlough.—Sat., 20. Left Peekskill and went to Col Griffin's in Fishkill. Tarried there till Mon., 22. It was stormy on the Sabbath. Monday night, I preached a sermon from John 3: 3, at Mr. Bouton's in Danbury.—Tues., 23. Went to Waterbury and lodged at Mr. Beecher's.—Wed., 24. Went to Southampton and tarried at Mr. Meriam's. Preached a sermon in the evening, from 1 Cor. 9: 24. "So run that ye may obtain."—Thurs., 25. Went to Mansfield, lodged there.—Fri., 26. Went to Mr. Biston's in Sutton, lodged there.—Sat., 27. Went to Gen. Nixon's. Tarried there till Monday.—Sabb., 28. Preached two sermons in the Congregational meeting house, from Ezekiel 33: 11, and Heb. 12: 25.—Mon. 29. Went to Boston. Lodged at night at Mr. Holland's.—Tues., 30, Wed., December 1. In Boston.—Thurs., 2. Went home to Haverhill.—Fri., 3, Sat., 4. At home and visiting my friends.—Sabb., 5. Preached two sermons in my pulpit, from Luke 8: 40, "And it came to pass that when Jesus was returned the people gladly received him; for they were all waiting for him," and Jer. 2: 2, "Go and cry in the ears of Jerusalem, saying, Thus saith the Lord: I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a land that was not sown."—Mon., 6. Visiting.—Tues., 7. Went to Abel and Anna Page's. That evening, married John White to Susanna White.—Wed., 8. At home.—Thursday being Thanksgiving, through

¹ Among the Smith papers is an address, composed, the author writes, "to deliver at the execution of Josiah Edwards on Gallows Hill, Nov. 12, 1778, but not delivered for want of time." At the close is an account of his life, given to the Chaplain by the prisoner himself. He was 24 years of age; was born in Wales, West Chester City; his father, Josiah Edwards, moved to Liverpool, where he died; drinking, playing cards, and had company led to his untimely end.

the Continental, I preached a sermon in my pulpit from Psalms 111: 1, and in the evening married Samuel Greenleaf to Elsie Ladd.—Fri., 10. About home.—Sat., 11. In my study.—Sab., 12. Preached two sermons in my pulpit in Haverhill, from Luke 10: 22.

The church in Haverhill, says Backus, "increased to a hundred and fifty members before the war; and when that broke out, Mr. Smith engaged very heartily in the cause of his country, and was a Chaplain in our army through the most distressing part of the war, only he was at home with his people in the winters. A fresh revival of religion began among them in 1778, which caused the addition of fifty-four members in three years." The church had now a membership of one hundred and ninety, being the largest Baptist Church in New England, with the exception of the South Brimfield Church in New Hampshire, the church in Newport, Rhode Island, under the pastoral care of Gardner Thurston, and the one in Middleborough, under the care of Asa Hunt. The duties which thus devolved upon the pastor during his present furlough were arduous and responsible, occupying his time fully, as may well be supposed. In addition to his pastoral work, he had to provide for a growing family, in a time of distress, when provisions and the necessaries of life were scarce, and money had depreciated in value to an unprecedented extent.

No record of the year 1780 has been preserved among the Smith papers. This then is the only break in his personal diary or journal, from the year 1762, when he was graduated, until his death. From Mr. Chace's history of Haverhill, we learn that Mr. Smith was prominent in the affairs of the town. On the 2d of May a meeting of the citizens was called, to see if they would

"approve of the form of government for the State of Massachusetts Bay, as agreed upon by their delegates in a convention lately held at Cambridge." Articles I. and II. in the Bill of Rights were unanimously agreed to; but the third was debated at length, and the meeting finally adjourned until Monday, May 8th, without a formal vote. The following is the article alluded to:—

Article III. As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community, but by the institution of the public worship of God, and of public instructions in piety, religion, and morality; therefore, to promote their happiness, and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this Commonwealth have a right to invest their legislature with power to authorize and require, and the legislature shall, from time to time, authorize and require, the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality, in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily.

And the people of this Commonwealth have also a right to, and do, invest their legislature with authority to enjoin upon all the subjects an attendance upon the instructions of the public teachers aforesaid, at stated times and seasons, if there be any on whose instructions they can conscientiously and conveniently attend.

Provided, notwithstanding, that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, shall, at all times, have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance.

And all moneys paid by the subject to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he attends; otherwise it may be paid towards the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct in which the said moneys are raised.

And every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good subjects of the Commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.

The original third article in the Bill of Rights was to give, says Backus, "civil rulers power in religious matters which occasioned much debate; until a Baptist member moved to have that article recommitted." This member, as has already been stated in a previous chapter, was Mr. Smith's intimate friend, the Rev. Noah Alden, of Bellingham. The motion was concurred with, and he was elected the chairman of a committee of seven, five of whom, Backus adds, "were great politicians." They brought in a new draft, which, after warm debates, was passed by a majority at an adjourned meeting of the Convention, and in October, 1780, it became a part of the New Constitution then adopted. Although vastly superior to any previous legislation in the Commonwealth on the subject of religious worship, commanding the approval of a writer like Dr. Paley,¹ it was nevertheless opposed in all quarters, and the subject was thoroughly discussed, both in public and private. "The Baptists," says Bradford, "were the most inclined to complain, for the teachers of religion were generally of the Congregational order." They considered it oppressive, and inconsistent with their rights, that those who had belonged to other churches, and were desirous of joining a Baptist Church, should be subjected to the inconvenience of applying for license to do so. Backus, in his history, objects to this article, because it gave the majority in each town and parish the exclusive right of covenanting for the rest

¹ "Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy." Chapter X.; Religious Establishments, and Toleration.

with religious teachers, and so, of excluding the minority; and again, because this right or power was in the hands of men who voted by virtue of money qualifications, without regard to the Church of Christ.

At the adjourned town meeting in Haverhill, one hundred and seventy-five voters were present. After much altercation and debate upon the third article, two plans were proposed, one by Hon. N. P. Sargeant, Esq., and the other by Mr. Smith. A vote was taken on each of the amendments, resulting in seventy-nine in favor of the former, and sixty-six for the latter. The meeting was again adjourned. Finally, on Thursday, May 25th, it having been ascertained that eighty-five were in favor of the article and sixty-nine against it, Mr. Smith offered a compromise, and a vote was passed approving the Constitution as a whole, and recommending its adoption. The whole affair is creditable to Mr. Smith, who was the leader in the opposition, and shows how much influence he had already acquired among his fellow townsmen, outside of his immediate church and parish.

During the Chaplain's protracted absence from the army, his furlough in the present instance having been extended to six months, the operations of the war had been chiefly conducted in the Southern States. Washington, with his army, was at Morristown, where they suffered hardships scarcely less severe than those for which the dreary encampment at Valley Forge has become proverbial. The winter was the most intense ever remembered in the country, so that the great bay of New York was frozen over. "The transportation of supplies," says Irving, "was obstructed; the magazines were exhausted, and the commissaries had neither money nor credit to enable them to replenish them. For weeks at a time the army

was on half allowance; sometimes without meat, sometimes without bread, sometimes without both. There was a scarcity, too, of clothing and blankets, so that the poor soldiers were starving with cold as well as hunger. Some of them had not even shoes to their feet." "Yet," writes Washington on the 8th of January, "they have borne their sufferings with a patience that merits the approbation, and ought to excite the sympathies, of their countrymen." On the 25th of January, two detachments were sent out from New York to harass the American outposts. One pushed on to Newark, surprised and captured a company there, set fire to the academy, and returned without loss. The other, consisting of infantry and mounted dragoons, surprised the picket guard at Elizabethtown, captured officers and privates, burnt the town house, Presbyterian Church, private residences, and plundered the inhabitants. Similar expeditions continued to be sent out from New York in various directions.

On Sunday, May 28, Mr. Smith preached to his people, and then set out for the last time for the army. His military journal, as I have already stated, has been lost, and the only record of this term of his service is the following interesting letter to his wife:—

CAMP CONTINENTAL VILLAGE,

July 14, 1780.

MY DEAR HEPHZIBAH:—Last week I sent you a long epistle, which I hope you have received. Should that fail, this may inform you that I enjoy a good state of health, through the blessing of Heaven, which blessing I hope you and the dear little ones enjoy. There are great preparations making to do something capital this campaign, and it is my opinion, that a vigorous exertion will be made for New York, in which enterprise I expect many will lose their lives. Oh that they may be prepared by grace for such an event! I have reason to think that my poor endeavors have been blessed to the awakening of several

persons in Peekskill since my arrival. Oh that their convictions might terminate in conversion! Next Lord's Day, I expect to preach to my brigade for the first time since I joined them this season. For I found the brigade so scattered, and taken up with guards, etc., that the Brigade Major said, that he would not turn any out for public exercise, nor even furnish men to relieve the guards. But now the recruits have joined, we are able to have religious exercise in camp again, and I pray that my preaching may be attended with power. How is the state of religion in Haverhill? Have you found comfort in the blessed Jesus? Oh that all my relations and friends were related to Christ and experienced his love in their hearts! I hope you hear preaching in my pulpit frequently. As to domestic affairs, I leave all to the management of you and Dean, only recommending, that should I live to return to Haverhill, I expect two horses to winter, and consequently shall need all the hay and straw that grow on my land. Should that be short, it might be prudent to purchase a ton of good hay; but this I leave to your good prudence and wisdom. I hope you keep the children steadily at school. Give my kind love to brother Dean and all my good friends. I expect to answer all the letters they send to me. Kiss Billy¹ for me, and tell him he must be a good boy. My love to Hezekiah¹ and Jonathan.¹ Accept the same for yourself.

From your affectionate, loving husband,

HEZEKIAH SMITH.

In the latter part of the year 1780, occurred the saddest episode of our Revolutionary history—the treason

¹ These three boys constituted the present family of Mr. Smith, all of whom attained to manhood. Hezekiah, the oldest, now in his 9th year, fitted for college and entered at Providence, under the care of President Manning. He eventually settled down on a farm in Northumberland, Coos County, New Hampshire, where he died at an advanced age. The youngest, William ("Billy"), was born while the Chaplain was with the army in 1777. He became a successful sea-captain, having his residence in New York. His portrait, which represents a remarkably handsome man, is in the possession of the family at Newton Centre. Jonathan Kimball became a farmer and store-keeper. His first wife was Judith Thurlow, of West Newbury, by whom he had a daughter Sarah, who married Charles Bradley. Their son, Hon. Charles Smith Bradley, LL. D., of Providence, was graduated at Brown University in 1833, with the Valedictory honors of his class. He is a member like his revered ancestor, of the Board of Fellows, and like him, a warm friend and liberal benefactor of the institution. The second wife of Jonathan was Anna White, of Methuen, daughter of Farmer John White. She had a daughter who married the poet, Rev. Dr. S. F. Smith, of Newton Centre, Massachusetts.

of Benedict Arnold. Every writer has dwelt at length upon this remarkable event, and we need only allude in our present narrative to the mere facts. Chaplain Smith was with the American Army at Orangetown, or Tappan,¹ as it appears, at the time when André was tried and executed. A sermon that he preached to the Massachusetts Brigade upon the melancholy occasion has fortunately been preserved. It is remarkable for its clear analysis of passing events, for its patriotic glow, and especially for its implicit trust throughout in a Divine and Overruling Providence. The author, it will be observed, refers to the "baseness of the low-lived traitor," as exceeding "if possible, that of a Tory." Men were in

¹ Tappan lies in a fertile and romantic valley, three miles back from the Fall-sides, and about twenty miles from New York. This valley was once the scene of carnage, and beneath the sod lie the bones of hundreds of brave men who perished in battle. Two hundred yards south of the station, the New York, Ontario, and Western Railroad skirts the base of the hill, upon the summit of which, within fifty feet of the New Jersey State line, Major André was executed. In 1821, his remains were disinterred by order of the Duke of York, and taken to Westminster Abbey, where they now rest. In 1879, Mr. Cyrus W. Field purchased thirty acres, including the site of the execution and burial, and erected thereon a monument with the following inscription, written by the late A. P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster:—

"Here Died, October 24, 1780,

MAJOR JOHN ANDRÉ, OF THE BRITISH ARMY,

who, entering the American lines on a secret mission to Benedict Arnold

for the surrender of West Point,

was taken prisoner, tried, and condemned as a spy;

His Death,

though according to the stern code of war, moved even his enemies to pity;

and both Armies

mourned the fate of one so young and so brave.

In 1821, his remains were removed to

Westminster Abbey.

A hundred years after the execution this stone is placed above the spot where

he laid, by a citizen of the United States against whom he fought;

not to perpetuate the record of strife, but in token of those better feelings

which have since united two nations, one in race,

in language, and in religion, with the hope that this friendly union will

never be broken."

earnest then, and the two conflicting parties were known only as patriots, or Whigs, and Tories.

On the 17th of September, says Thatcher, in his "Military Journal," His Excellency General Washington, the Marquis de La Fayette, and General Knox, with a splendid retinue, left camp for Hartford, to hold a conference with Count Rochambeau, and the other French officers. On the 20th, Major John André, Adjutant General of the British Army, proceeded up the Hudson, and went on board the Vulture. On the 21st, at midnight, at the foot of a shadowy mountain six miles below Stony Point, occurred that memorable interview with Arnold so fraught with disaster and shame. On the morning of Saturday, September 23, André, while on his return to New York, was arrested at Tarrytown by Paulding, Williams, and Van Vert.

On the 26th of September, continues Thatcher, at three o'clock in the morning, an alarm was spread throughout the American camp, and two regiments of the Pennsylvania line were ordered to march immediately to West Point. The entire army was paraded, and the following startling and spirited communication, in the orders of General Nathaniel Greene, who commanded in the absence of Washington, was read by the adjutants to their respective regiments:—"Treason, of the blackest dye, was yesterday discovered. General Arnold, who commanded at West Point, lost to every sentiment of honor, of private and public obligation, was about to deliver up that important post into the hands of the enemy. Such an event must have given the American cause a dangerous, if not a fatal, wound. Happily the treason has been timely discovered, to prevent the fatal misfortune. The providential train of circumstances

which led to it affords the most convincing proofs that the liberties of America are the object of divine protection. At the same time that the treason is to be regretted, the General cannot help congratulating the army on the happy discovery. Our enemies, despairing of carrying their point by force, are practicing every base art, to effect by bribery and corruption what they cannot accomplish in a manly way. Great honor is due to the American Army, that this is the first instance of treason of the kind, where many were to be expected from the nature of our dispute.

"The brightest ornament in the character of the American soldiers is their having been proof against all the arts and seductions of an insidious enemy. Arnold has made his escape to the enemy, but Major André, the Adjutant-General in the British Army, who came out as a spy, to negotiate the business, is our prisoner."

André was tried by a Board of general officers which met on the 29th of September, the day after Washington's arrival at Tappan. It was composed of six Major-Generals: Greene, Stirling, St. Clair, Lafayette, Howe, and Steuben; and eight Brigadiers: Parsons, Clinton, Knox, Glover, Paterson, Hand, Huntington, and Stark. The brave Nixon, Smith's army friend and commander, does not appear in this list, having resigned his commission and left the service three weeks previous.¹ Greene, who was well versed in military law, and was withal a man, as Irving states it, "of sound head and kind heart," was elected President of the Board, and Colonel John Law-

¹ In the printed Journals of Congress, under date of Sept. 12, 1790, occurs the following:—"A letter of the 9th, from General Washington was read, inclosing a letter of the 8th from Brigadier John Nixon, requesting leave on account of his ill state of health to resign; whereupon, "Resolved, That the resignation of Brigadier John Nixon be accepted on account of his ill state of health."

rence, Judge-Advocate-General. These were the men whom Lord Mahon, in his recent history, designates as "men drawn from the plough-handle, or from the shop-board, at their country's call." "Greene himself," he adds, "the President of the tribunal, had been a blacksmith by trade." * * * "Such men, having no light of study to guide them, having never possibly heard the names of Vattel or Puffendorf, could be no fit judges on any nice or doubtful point of national law.¹

The Board, it is well known, considered André as a spy from the enemy, and hence, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, deserving of death. Washington approved of their decision, and ordered the execution to take place, Sunday afternoon, October 1, at five o'clock. In consequence of a communication from Sir Henry Clinton under a flag of truce, the execution was postponed till the next day.

The sermon to which we have referred, is entitled, "The Unhappiness of those who trust not God." At the end, the author writes:—"Orangetown, Sept. 30, 1780. Composed to deliver to the First Massachusetts Brigade tomorrow, on the account of a late discovery of a plot, in which West Point was to have been given up by Major-General Arnold, into the hands of the British. This was preached the first of October." It reads as follows:—

PSA. 52: 7. "Lo, this is the man that made not God his strength; but trusted in the abundance of his riches, and strengthened himself in his wickedness."

1. This world is a stage upon which all the different scenes of man

¹ Gen. Greene in his youth was a great lover of books. Among the authors mentioned by his biographer as his favorites, are Vattel and Puffendorf, thus referred to by Lord Mahon. In addition to these, he mentions especially Euclid, Horace, Malr, Locke, Butler, Blackstone, Ferguson, Beccaria, Montesquieu, Burlamaqui, Hume, Rollin, Cæsar, Addison, and Pope.

are acted. Here the statesman is viewed in every point of light. Upon this the military glory of the hero shines forth with peculiar lustre, whilst the deep laid plans and subtle intrigues of the designing and the crafty are discovered. Here the whole assemblage of virtues (the armaments of human nature), are exhibited to view. Upon this is the fall of kingdoms and the rise of empires.

2. From the Scriptural account of Doeg, who is referred to in the text, I am apt to think he was a Deist, or an Atheist, who made not God his strength, but trusted in his riches, and strengthened himself in his wickedness. The first four verses of this Psalm describe him as delighting in wickedness. It is to be feared that our land is infested with too many similar characters; whose mischievous designs are covered with the veil of deceitfulness, and whose dissolute principles are pregnant with the greatest evils, both in religion and in politics. Are not these the sources from whence arise growing impieties, perversion of judgment, oppression, fraud, and every ill with which this land is scourged, and under which it groans? Do not the embarrassments, both in the civil and the military departments, arise from the same principles?

3. The Christian religion, which is of divine origin, teaches us the knowledge of God, who is the strength of his people, and their exceeding great reward. This furnishes us with principles diametrically opposed to those of the Deist and the Atheist, and are productive of the greatest good to Church and State. Hence arise justice, equity, benevolence, and all the virtues which adorn the human mind, and grace the patriot, statesman, soldier, and civilian.

4. Lo, this is the man that made not God his strength, and was strongly engaged in the interest of King Saul, whose kingdom began to shake, alarming his fears, and enraging him against the man whom God designed to reign. He could no more endure the revolt of David and his followers (though his tyranny was the cause of it) than King George can bear the just revolt of the United States of America, occasioned by the undue stretch of despotic power. Doeg's character in some respects answers to that of a certain person¹ who trusted in the abundance of his riches to bribe the persons who apprehended him in his way to New York. He was returning to give information, to

¹ Major André, Adjutant General of the British Army, was taken near Tarrytown by three of the inhabitants, to whom he offered his gold watch, 100 guineas, horse, saddle, and bridle, and goods to any amount, if they would let him pass, and go with him to New York to receive them.—NOTE BY THE CHAPLAIN.

the great prejudice, if not to the destruction of the revolted States. Doeg gave information against David (1 Sam. 22: 9), which proved the destruction of Ahimelech (who assisted David) with all the priests of his father's house that were in Nob (1 Sam. 22: 11-19). However, Doeg's information against David did not subvert the new kingdom which was forming under him. And blessed be God, the bold enterprise of the apprehended officer was so far from succeeding in the ruin of these young rising States, that I apprehend great strength and good will result therefrom, especially when we consider the particular interposition of Heaven, in his being apprehended in the critical juncture, just before the horrid plot was to have taken place by which that grand, low-lived traitor¹ was discovered, whose baseness, if possible, exceeds that of a Tory. Several particulars respecting him are similar to those of Haman, whose neck was stretched upon the gallows. Do you ask me what are the similar particulars? I answer,—1. Each was advanced to posts of great honor and trust.—2. Offence was given to each one.—3. Their design was to destroy a great number of people within their own dominions.—4. Here it may be observed that Haman could not accomplish his treacherous design, without the assistance of the king (Ester 3. 8-10). Neither could Arnold his, without the assistance of the servants of a king.—5. Further, money was to be given to each of them as a reward of their treacherous proceedings (Ester 3: 11). The sum is to me uncertain. What sum could possibly be esteemed as an equivalent for the loss of a country? Surely none can tell, neither is any one capable of suggesting it, unless his heart is filled with the noxious deeds of treason, and the baseness of his mind is degenerated to the blackness of the crime. What punishment could be too great, or what too ignominious for such a traitor? You may be assured, though the enemy might have been pleased with the treason, they will forever despise the traitor.

6. Since heaven has smiled upon us to the confusion of the perpetrators of this horrid plot and the destruction of their plan, surely we ought to lift our eyes and hearts to heaven in the way of gratitude, and bless the name of the Most High, who in his providence disposeth of beings, things, and events. He taketh the wicked in their own craftiness, and bringeth to naught the counsels of the ungodly. For a moment let us consider the great deliverance which we have experienced. The force of British skill and intrigue has been employed

¹ Major General Arnold, who had the command of West Point, and had agreed to deliver it up to the enemy.—NOTE BY THE CHAPLAIN

for some weeks, if not months past, to get in their possession West Point. Their military manœuvres have corresponded with their design. Had they succeeded, the issue would have been distressing, if not fatal. The passes over North River would have been stopped. The communication with the Eastern States, from whence great part of our supplies come, would have been cut off. Our magazines, not only on West Point, but up the river, would have fallen into their hands, without which we should have greatly suffered. The disaffected¹ to our cause would have been encouraged, and hundreds, if not thousands, would have joined them. Our army could not have been supplied so well as it is now. It would under all these discouraging circumstances have been difficult, if not impossible, to recruit the army. Fears without and distresses within, like so many VULTURES, would have preyed upon our very vitals. In short, a complication of evils would have ensued, too numerous to mention at present, from all which the Lord hath delivered us. God hath defeated the horrid plot of Arnold, and will destroy the very arsenal of hell itself. Rejoice, ye righteous, and shout aloud the salvation of God. The impregnable fortress of West Point is safe. Our magazines are sure. The communication with the several States, from whence the army derives supplies, is free and open. The disaffected may see that the providential train of circumstances which led to the discovery of the treason affords the most convincing proof that the liberties of America are the object of the divine protection. Our cause is strengthened by the desertion of a most infamous traitor, the capture of a spy (of rank and influence with the enemy), together with one who was his abettor. Our army I trust will be recruited, and the brave sons of America will show that no hardships are too great to

¹ The Chaplain here refers of course to the Loyalists, or the "royal party," which, in the State of New York, had the preponderance during the entire war. This, Sabine remarks, in his "History of American Loyalists," is "beyond all doubt." As proof, he instances a bill which passed the House of Assembly soon after the close of the Revolution, which prohibited persons who had been in opposition from holding any office under the State. The bill, on being sent to the Senate, was rejected, on the ground that, if allowed to become a law, no elections could be held in some parts of the State, for want of a sufficient number of Whigs to preside or conduct the election meetings. "Whole battalions," he adds, "and even regiments, were raised by the great land-holders, and continued organized and in pay throughout the struggle. In fine, New York was undeniably the Loyalists' stronghold, and contained more of them than any other colony in all America." * * * "Massachusetts furnished 67,907 Whig soldiers between the years 1775 and 1783; while New York supplied but 17,781."

encounter, in order to secure the invaluable rights and privileges which are far preferable to all the honors and riches of the world.

6. Let each of us avoid the fatal rocks upon which those have fallen, who make not God their strength, but trust in their riches, and strengthen themselves in wickedness. The method in which I propose to treat this subject is as follows:—

I.

Show that God is the strength and safety of those who trust in him.

II.

Consider the danger of such who make not God their strength, but trust in their riches and strengthen themselves in their wickedness.

III.

Improve the subject.

1. The first proposition is, to show that God is the strength and safety of those who trust in him.

1. His character abundantly evinces this point, in the display of his attributes, not only as the Author of our existence, in whom are all the springs of action, but in raising up and furnishing men with strength for particular purposes in life, and safely guiding them through the greatest trials and apparent dangers. Witness Noah, Abraham, Lot, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, David, Daniel, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego;—in short, all the prophets and all the apostles witness to this proposition.

2. The providence of God abundantly illustrates this point, known both by history and by experience. View the circumstantial account of divine providence respecting Joseph, from the time of his being sold into Egypt till his death, and who can help pronouncing God to be his strength and safety? The particular interposition of providence respecting Moses, from his birth to his death, proclaim aloud that God was his strength and safety. Read the history of our forefathers in their emigration to America, and first settling the United States; the hardships they endured, the dangers they encountered, the discouragements and difficulties they surmounted, and we must acknowledge the particular providence of God, who ruleth over all.

This is abundantly verified in the divine conduct towards Israel as a people. When they were obedient, they ate the fat of the land and were preserved from their enemies. When they forsook him and made not God their strength, they were overcome by their enemies. How often has his people experienced the truth of this proposition.

3. God's word and promises abundantly verify it. Gen. 15: 1. "Fear not Abraham, I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward." Psalms 84: 11. "For the Lord God is a sun and a shield: the Lord will give grace and glory; no good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly." Isa. 26: 3, 4. "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee: because he trusteth in thee. Trust ye in the Lord forever: for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength." The Lord hath said, "I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee." Heb. 13: 5.

4. This proposition will be further illustrated from the near, dear, and indissoluble relation he bears to them. He commands not to touch or hurt his anointed, or to do his people any harm. The greatest care and affection exercised towards an obedient child by an indulgent parent, cannot equal the care and love of a most compassionate God towards his people who trust in him. His love is displayed in the heaven-astonishing gift of his Son for them, by whose obedience and sufferings their salvation is secured, and a door is opened for the rich communications of covenant blessings, which are invariably bestowed upon his people. Agreeably to this covenant, he bestows grace and glory, and no good thing will he withhold from them. His care is extended to the most minute circumstances of their lives. There shall not a hair of your heads fall to the ground without your Heavenly Father's notice.

II. Consider the dangers of such as make not God their strength, but trust in their riches, and strengthen themselves in their wickedness.

I would premise, for persons to trust in their riches is to neglect God, and rely upon them to answer their various wants and exigencies, which cannot be supplied without the divine blessing. Though riches with a blessing may answer many valuable purposes, yet they cannot purchase health; they cannot satisfy the cravings of hunger and thirst; they cannot ease us of pain; they cannot ease a guilty conscience; they cannot protract life, bribe death, or guard us against such evils as God sends. For persons to strengthen themselves in their wickedness is, if possible, more absurd than to trust in riches. This is done by repeated transgressions, and by violating the most endearing obligations. It is open rebellion against God, which is as the sin of witchcraft. The danger of such persons may appear from the following:—

1. Of losing the object of their trust; for riches will take to themselves wings and fly away. How often are such stripped of them in

this world, and those very men who boasted of their great wealth and grandeur, and made not God their strength, reduced to most abject poverty. Doubtless, you may recollect some such instances. One striking instance take from the sacred word. Daniel 4: 30, and on. "The king spake and said, Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty? While the word was in the king's mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, saying, O King Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken: the kingdom is departed from thee. And they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field; they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and seven times shall pass over thee, until thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will." And so on to the end of the chapter.

2. They are in danger of incurring the displeasure of God, as was the case with the Moabites, Ammonites, and all the nations whom God scourged by the Israelites, and destroyed from the face of the earth, when their iniquity was fully ripe. God suffers the impious to grow, and strengthen themselves in wickedness, till they fill up the cup of their iniquity; then his wrath is poured upon them and destruction overtakes them, as it did Pharaoh and his host. Yea, sudden destruction often comes upon them, as on Herod. Acts 12: 21-23: "Upon a set day, Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, sat upon his throne, and made an oration unto them. And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a God, and not of a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory; and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost." Sometimes it comes as a whirlwind, Prov. 1: 27, as on Dathan, Korah, and Abiram. Num. 16.

3. They are often disappointed in their expectations, as was the case with the young man who carried tidings of the death of Saul to David, (2 Sam. 1); also with Haman who prepared a gallows for Mordecai, but experienced the virtue and strength thereof himself. I might here subjoin the late instance which took place, in which treason of the blackest dye was discovered, and the perpetrator thereof was obliged to quit his country, in the greatest precipitation, to save his neck from the halter, a death too mild for the blackest of crimes. Those accomplices in the horrid act, could not be less disappointed.

4. They are not only in danger of being deprived of all earthly good and happiness here, but are in danger of everlasting destruction hereafter; for "The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God." "Tophet is ordained of old; yea for the King it is

prepared. The pile thereof is fire and much wood; the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it." In hell, the rich man lifted up his eyes, who had his good things in this life, and put not his trust in God, but gloried in his riches. Like one who addressed his soul in this language:—"Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; eat, drink, and be merry." What is the voice of God to him? "This night thy soul shall be required of thee; then whose shall these things be?" Our Saviour represents the wicked, that they shall go away into everlasting punishment. And those who believe not and refuse to trust him, shall be damned. "See that ye refuse not him that speaketh. For if they escaped not who refused him that speaketh on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that speaketh from heaven." The argument drawn from this in favor of future punishment is plain and natural.

III. Improve the subject.

1. The folly of men, who say in their hearts, There is no God, is abundantly conspicuous, whilst they trust in uncertain riches, and strengthen themselves against God in their wickedness.

2. God ruleth over all, and is most exact and particular in the adjustments of his providence. His eyes are on the just and the unjust. He views our conduct, and takes cognizance of all our thoughts, desires, and designs. To him we owe our late deliverance, for which posterity will have reason to bless his name. Had that hellish plot succeeded, we might this day have been clad in sadness, and sorrow like a shroud would have overwhelmed us. The voice of joy could not have been heard in the midst of us, whilst each countenance would have indicated consternation and woe. America would have been convulsed, whilst many of her native sons would have fallen a sacrifice to the violent rage of the foe. Our enemies, like an impetuous torrent, would have rushed upon us, and perhaps soon have decided the fate of America. But America, the envy of Britain, is protected by him, whose purposes are often known in raising up new empires, and forming a people great for himself. Without controversy, America has been the object of his care ever since it was first settled by our Forefathers, and particularly from the commencement of our present troubles. Witness the beginning of our contest, when we were without an army, arms, ammunition, or any necessary preparations to oppose so powerful a nation. In the name of the Lord we trusted, who taught our hands to war and our fingers to fight. To heaven we made our solemn appeal for the rectitude of our sentiments, and the justice of our cause in the bloody contest. From a state of profound peace we were roused to war, when the

marital spirit quick, like a flash of lightning, inspired the breasts of the brave sons of America, and circulated from shore to shore. Witness the many successes since. Shall we now forsake the Lord and trust in the arm of flesh? Let it not be told in our land, nor published in America, lest the uncircumcised in heart should rejoice.

3. Come, my brave soldiers, and trust in the Lord, in whom is everlasting strength. Reason, religion, and experience, all unite in the solemn invitation.

4. Consider the danger of not trusting in the Lord, and take warning by the awful fate of others.

5. May the love and goodness of our God lead us to gratitude and rejoicing in him, which is the sincere desire of him who wishes you all possible blessings in this world and in the world to come. Amen and Amen.

The close of the foregoing reads like a farewell address. The speaker doubtless had in mind his speedy resignation as Chaplain in the army. During his last furlough the subject had been presented to him by his flock, who urged upon him the claims of a large and growing church, and the great need of his presence and daily ministrations. At a meeting of the Haverhill Baptist Society, held on the 24th of April, 1780, it was voted in the language of the records, "That ye Rev. Mr. Smith be requested to return from ye army to his charge as soon as he can with honor." It was further voted, "That Samuel White, Esq., Deacon Shepard, and Mr. John White, be a committee to wait on ye Rev. Mr. Smith, and let him know ye votes of ye society, and to desire him to return from ye army as speedily as he can with honor."

Mr. Smith had been in the army from the beginning, and had rendered important service during the most trying periods of the war. A brighter day was now dawning, and the end of the protracted contest seemed at hand, in consequence of the arrival of fresh reinforcements from France, and the replenished funds of the National Treas-

ury. He could now, therefore, retire "with honor," and he accordingly resigned his commission as Chaplain. The printed Journals of Congress make no record of his resignation, although under date of Tues., Aug. 18, 1778, we find his appointment as a "Brigade Chaplain, upon the recommendation of his commanding officer, Brigadier John Nixon." Having bid an affectionate adieu to his army associates he set out for Haverhill, where he arrived in the latter part of October. The first Sunday after his return, he preached to his delighted people, from Isa. 54: 7. "For a small moment have I forsaken thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee." We may be sure that he passed in review the long years during which he had been absent from the church of his love, and that he looked forward, with a clear, discerning eye, to the "great mercies" both spiritual and temporal, which were in reserve for the faithful. A century later, it was my privilege to hear on the same spot, although not in the same house, a discourse from this text, by the present pastor of the church, the Rev. Henry C. Graves.

CHAPTER VII.

**HAVERHILL—PRIVATE SCHOOL—COLLEGE—PROVIDENCE—WARREN
ASSOCIATION—MANNING.**

1781—1791.

Pastoral Work—Continental Fast—Church in Rowley—Farming Operations—Visit from Mrs. Brown of Providence, daughter of Judge Jenckes—Thanksgiving Sermon on the occasion of the surrender of Cornwallis—National Proclamation—Private School—First meeting of the Corporation of Rhode Island College after the war—Visit to Newport—First meeting of the Warren Association in Providence—Birth of his daughter Rebecca—Preparatory Lectures—Peace declared—College Commencement—Birth and death of his son James—New Hampshire Association—Remarkable cold weather—Meeting of the Warren Association in Wrentham—Visit to the Jerseys—Philadelphia Association—Manning—Supply of the Baptist pulpit in Providence—Call to the pastorate of the church—Opening of the Bridge over Charles river—Eldest son, Hezekiah, enters College—Commencement in 1786—Nicholas Brown—Meeting of the Warren Association in Newton—Action in reference to ecclesiastical oppressions—Preaching tour in Maine and New Hampshire—Faneuil and Shay's Rebellion—Private petition to General Court—Commencement in 1787—Missionary tour in New Hampshire and Vermont—Installation of Thomas Gair in Boston—His pupil, Asa Messer, enters Rhode Island College—Meeting of New Hampshire Association at Stratham—Pastor's donations—Commencement in 1789—Visit to New York—Conducts revival meetings in Providence—Students converted—Visit from Dr. Stephen Gano—Commencement in 1790—Meeting of the Warren Association at Harvard—Funeral of Governor Bowdoin—Death of President Manning—Commencement in 1791—Hon. Judge Howell—Simon Doggett's address on Manning—Meeting of the Warren Association at New Rowley—Manning and the Baptist Educating Fund.

Mr. Smith now entered upon his pastoral work in Haverhill with renewed energy and zeal. During his long absence the church had been favored with the occasional ministrations of his friends Manning, Stillman, Gano, Seamans, Alden, Backus, and others, and a blessing had attended their preaching. The Holy Spirit was even now present, and a feeling of tender solicitude and

anxiety was manifest throughout the congregation. During the early part of the year the pastor's time, as his diary shows, was fully occupied in preaching almost daily in private houses in the neighborhood, and in the towns and villages adjoining, attending funerals, officiating at weddings, visiting the sick and the afflicted, and conversing with inquirers. His diary in fact presents a complete record of his life from this time on until within a few days of his death. The present work which was commenced years ago, has already been extended beyond my intentions in the outset. I may be pardoned if in bringing it to a close, I continue to give liberal extracts from so interesting and important a journal, adding as heretofore illustrative remarks. The first Monday in January he spends with his wife's relatives in Boxford. The diary reads:—

Mon., Jan. 1, 1781. Preached two sermons, one at Thomas Plummer's, from Isa. 43: 1. "But now thus saith the Lord that created thee O Jacob, and he that formed thee, O Israel, Fear not: for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy name; thou art mine;"—and one at Asa Chaplain's from Dan. 3: 26. "Then Nebuchadnezzar came near to the mouth of the burning fiery furnace, and spake, and said, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, ye servants of the most high God, come forth, and come hither; then Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, came forth of the midst of the fire."—Wed., 3. Baptized Hephzilah Burpy and Nathaniel Parley; then returned home.—Mon., April 23—Wed., 25. About my Spring work.—Thurs., May 3. It being Continental Fast, I preached two sermons in my meeting house in Haverhill, from Jer. 36: 6, 7. "Therefore go thou, and read in the roll, which thou hast written from my mouth, the words of the Lord in the ears of the people in the Lord's house upon the fasting day; and also thou shalt read them in the ears of all Judah that come out of their cities. It may be they will present their supplication before the Lord, and will return every one from his evil way; for great is the anger and the fury that the Lord hath pronounced against this people;"—and one at Timothy Jackson's, from Mic. 7: 18. "Who is a God like unto thee,

that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage? He retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy."

The proclamation for this Continental Fast, which Mr. Smith so religiously observed, preaching three sermons on the occasion, reads as follows, omitting the preamble:—

The United States in Congress assembled, therefore do earnestly recommend, that Thursday, the third of May next, may be observed as a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer, that we may, with united hearts, confess and bewail our manifold sins and transgressions, and by sincere repentance and amendment of life, appease his righteous displeasure, and through the merits of our blessed Saviour, obtain pardon and forgiveness; that it may please him to inspire our rulers with incorruptible integrity, and to direct and prosper their councils; to inspire all our citizens with a fervent and disinterested love of their country, and to preserve and strengthen their union; to turn the hearts of the disaffected, or to frustrate their devices; to regard with divine compassion our friends in captivity, affliction, and distress; to comfort and relieve them under their sufferings, and to change their mourning into grateful songs of triumph; that it may please him to bless our ally, and to render the connection formed between these United States and his kingdoms a mutual and lasting benefit to both nations; to animate our officers and forces by sea and land with invincible fortitude, and to guard and protect them in the day of battle, and to crown our joint endeavors for terminating the calamities of war with victory and success; that the blessings of liberty and peace may be established on an honorable and permanent basis, and transmitted inviolate to the latest posterity; that it may please him to prosper our husbandry and commerce, and bless us with health and plenty; that it may please him to bless all schools and seminaries of learning, and to grant that truth, justice, and benevolence, and pure and undefiled religion, may universally prevail.

Continuing the record:

Friday, May 4. Preached a sermon at Samuel Plummer's, after I

had formed a branch of the church (Haverhill) in Rowley, from Gen. 45: 24. The Branch down there consists of the following:—Nathaniel Parley, Timothy Jackman 3d, Moses Tonny, Moses Wood, Moses Hazen, John Blaisdel, Samuel Brown, Asa Smith, Molly Jackman, Lucy Tonny, Jane Adams, Hephzibah Burpe, Susanna Kilburn, Rebecca Kell, Hannah Ellsworth, Molly Dodge, Betsey Cross, Lucy Low.

Backus, writing of this church, adds:—"A branch of Haverhill Church was at the west part of Rowley, where a meeting was held for several years, until a Baptist Church was formed there in 1785, and Mr. William Ewing became their minister. * * * In 1789, this church called Elder A. Crossman, from Chelmsford, and in three years their church increased from forty-four to ninety-nine members."

Mon., June 18. Had thirteen hands hauling rocks and making stone wall for me.—Tues., 19. Had seventeen hands about the same work. In the two days they put up about twenty-four rods of wall.—Mon., Sept. 24. Gathered my apples for cider and dugged some potatoes.—Tues., 25. Took my colt from the mare to wean.

Numerous entries like the foregoing, to which we have referred in a former chapter, show Mr. Smith to have been a practical farmer. The large tracts of land which he and his wife owned required time and skill to manage with success.

Friday, Oct. 5. Returned home from Bradford. That evening Mrs. Brown, wife of Nicholas Brown, of Providence, with her son and Miss Polly Brown, daughter of Joseph Brown, came to my house on a visit and tarried till the Wednesday following.

This was the noted Rhoda Jenckes, fifth daughter of the Hon. Judge Daniel Jenckes, to whom I have referred in a previous chapter, as prominent in the history of the charter of Rhode Island College. Her mother was

Joanna Scott, a descendant of Richard Scott, one of the original proprietors of the Colony, and an early member of the church constituted by Roger Williams. On May 2, 1762, she was married to Nicholas Brown, an intimate friend and associate of President Manning. This union proved a source of great domestic felicity. They were blessed with a numerous offspring; but of ten children, only two survived them, viz., a daughter Hope, who married, March 6, 1792, Thomas Poynton Ives, Esq.; and a son, now a lad of twelve, who was afterwards known as the Hon. Nicholas Brown. After more than twenty-one years of happy married life, this most excellent lady, whose special delight it was to aid her husband in his deeds of charity, to entertain the numerous guests who came so freely to their hospitable mansion, and to cheer by her presence the gloomy abodes of poverty and pain, was taken from earth. She died December 16, 1783, in the full assurance of a blessed immortality.

Tues., Oct. 30. About 7 o'clock in the evening my youngest son, Peter, died.

The birth of this son, being his fourth, is recorded under date of Friday, July 27. He was therefore but three months old at the time of his death.

Thurs., Nov. 8. Five persons from North Rowley came and cut my frame for a wood house.—Thurs., Dec. 13. Preached a Thanksgiving Sermon from Phil. 4: 6: "Be careful for nothing; but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known unto God."

The occasion of this Thanksgiving Sermon was the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, October 19, infor-

mation of which was communicated to Congress on the 24th following, in a letter from Washington. Two days later a day of "public thanksgiving and prayer" was set apart, in accordance with the following national proclamation, which we publish as an important part of the history of this period:—

Whereas, it hath pleased Almighty God, the Father of mercies, remarkably to assist and support the United States of America in their important struggles for liberty against the long continued efforts of a powerful nation; it is the duty of all ranks to observe and thankfully to acknowledge the interpositions of his providence in their behalf. Through the whole of the contest, from its first rise to this time, the influence of divine providence may be clearly perceived in many signal instances, of which we mention but a few.

In revealing the counsels of our enemies, when the discoveries were reasonable and important, and the means seemingly inadequate or fortuitous; in preserving and even improving the union of the several States, on the breach of which our enemies place their greatest dependence; in increasing the number, and adding to the zeal and attachment, of the friends of liberty; in granting remarkable deliverances, and blessing us with the most signal success, when affairs seemed to have the most discouraging appearance; in raising up for us a powerful and generous ally, in one of the first of the European powers; in confounding the counsels of our enemies, and suffering them to pursue such measures as have most directly contributed to frustrate their own desires and expectations; above all, in making their extreme cruelty to the inhabitants of these States, when in their power, and their savage devastation of property, the very means of cementing our union, and adding vigor to every effort in opposition to them.

And as we cannot help lending the good people of these States to, a retrospect on the events which have taken place since the beginning of the war, so we recommend in a particular manner to their observation, the goodness of God in the year now drawing to a conclusion; in which the confederation of the United States has been completed; in which there have been so many instances of prowess and success in our armies; particularly in the Southern States, where, notwithstanding the difficulties with which they had to struggle, they have recovered

the whole country which the enemy had overrun, leaving them only a post or two on or near the sea; in which we have been so powerfully and effectually assisted by our allies, while in all the conjunct operations the most perfect harmony has subsisted in the allied army; in which there has been so plentiful a harvest, and so great abundance of the fruits of the earth of every kind, as not only enables us easily to supply the wants of our army, but gives comfort and happiness to the whole people; and in which, after the success of our allies by sea, a General of the first rank, with his whole army, has been captured by the allied forces under the direction of our Commander-in-chief.

It is therefore recommended to the several States to set apart the 13th day of December next, to be religiously observed as a day of thanksgiving and prayer; that all the people may assemble on that day, with grateful hearts, to celebrate the praises of our gracious Benefactor; to confess our manifold sins; to offer up our most fervent supplications to the God of all grace, that it may please him to pardon our offences, and incline our hearts for the future to keep all his laws; to comfort and relieve all our brethren who are in distress or captivity; to prosper our husbandmen, and give success to all engaged in lawful commerce; to impart wisdom and integrity to our counsellors, judgment and fortitude to our officers and soldiers; to protect and prosper our illustrious ally, and favor our united exertions for the speedy establishment of a safe, honorable, and lasting peace; to bless all seminaries of learning; and cause the knowledge of God to cover the earth, as the waters cover the seas.

Continuing the record:—

Sat., Feb. 16, 1782. In my study. On the same day the High Sheriff of the County took possession of Mr. Gould's trunk.—Mon., Feb. 25, Bought Gould's store.—Thurs., April 25. Being Fast, I preached two sermons in my pulpit in Haverhill, from Isa. 58: 4.—Fri., May 10. Set out for Boston, and got there.—Sat., 11, Sab., 12. Preached two sermons in Mr. Stillman's meeting house from Ps. 46: 4, and Daniel 2: 35.—Mon., 13. Preached a sermon from Proverbs.—Wed., 15. Returned home.—Mon., May 20. Set out for Providence. Arrived that night at Little Cambridge.—Tues., 21. At Providence. Remained there till Tuesday following. Preached two sermons on the Lord's Day in Mr. Manning's pulpit, from John 14: 6 and 16, and in the evening in Mr. Snow's meeting house, from Isa. 3: 36.—Wed., 29.

Preached a sermon in Mr. Gair's meeting house, in Medfield, from Isa. 11: 26. After sermon went to Newtown.—Thurs., 30. Went home.—Mon., June 3 to Sat., 8. Had a joiner shingling my house, repairing my school room, etc.—Mon., June 10. Began to keep school to teach my boys.—Tues., 11. Cornelius Mansis began to come to my school.—Wed., 12 to Sat., 15. Attending to my school and studying.—Mon., June 17 to Thurs., 20. Attended to my school and studied.—Tues., June 25 to Sat., 29. Attending to my school. Studying and visiting the sick.—Tues., July 9 to Sat., 13. Attending to my school, getting in hay, and in my study.

Entries like the foregoing are now frequent. Mr. Smith had taught a school, it appears, previous to the war; and he continued from this time on, for a series of years, to teach in connection with his pastoral work, fitting young men for college, and instructing them in the ordinary branches of knowledge. One of his pupils was President Messer, the successor of Muxey, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. His visit to Providence in May, to which his diary, it will be observed, refers, doubtless had reference to his school. President Manning had long been anxious to have Latin schools established at various points, as nurseries for the College.

In a letter to the Rev. Thomas Ustick, dated Providence, Nov. 17, 1778, he says:—"The present state of the Baptist Society in New England must convince us all of the importance of having men of education in all parts of the country. I am very sorry that I did not think to mention something of this to the Association; but I have written, and am about writing to all our ministers capable of teaching Latin, to immediately engage in the business." How many of the students of Rhode Island College were instructed by Mr. Smith, we have no means for determining. In a letter to him from Manning, dated July 3, 1784, the author writes:—"Secure of your interest in

sending us scholars, I shall say nothing on that head." That the number is quite large there can be no doubt.

Sab., Sept. 1, 1782. Preached two sermons in the North Meeting House in Bradford, from Acts 10: 24, and Ps. 12: 1.—Mon., 2. On the road in my way to Providence.—Tues., 3. Preached a sermon in Mr. Simon's meeting house in Attleborough, from John 9: 35. That evening arrived at Providence, and took my lodgings at Nicholas Brown's who is my friend.—Wed., 4 and Thurs., 5. Met with the Corporation of Rhode Island College to transact the necessary business relative to that Institution.

This was the first meeting of the Corporation which Mr. Smith had been able to attend since 1774. At that meeting, thanks had been voted to his friend, Mr. Nathian Spear, of Boston, "for his generous donation of ten pounds lawful money per annum, for two years, to enable them to make good the augmentation of Professor Howell's salary;" also to his early pastor, and afterwards army associate, the Rev. John Gano, "for having used his best endeavors to promote a subscription for the College in the Southern Colonies." The President was furthermore directed to extend thanks to the Rev. Hugh Evans and the Rev. Benj. Beldome of Great Britain, executors of the "last will and testament of Doct. Bernard Foskett, for their generous donation of twenty pounds sterling to this College out of the effects left in their hands, with discretionary power for their bestowment." These were persons on whom Mr. Smith would doubtless have called, had he gone to London before the commencement of hostilities, agreeably to the wishes of the Warren Association, as the agent of the Baptist Churches, to procure from the throne a redress of their grievances.

The regular annual meetings of the Corporation were held in 1775, 1776, and 1777, at which time Mr. Smith

was serving his country as a Chaplain in the American Army. In 1776, a public Commencement was held in the new meeting house of the Baptist Church, which had been dedicated with appropriate religious services the year previous. From Dec. 7, 1776, until May 27, 1782, the course of studies was suspended, and the college edifice was occupied for barracks, and afterwards for a hospital by the American and French forces. There were no annual meetings of the Corporation after 1777. In the Spring of 1780, a special meeting was called, at which fourteen of the Trustees and Fellows were present. An effort was made to revive college instruction, and President Manning, in the quaint language of the records, "was ordered to begin." But further interruptions were in store for him. "On the 25th of June," says Backus, "while he was preaching at the church, it being Sunday, the college edifice was a second time seized, by the order of the Council of War, for a hospital for the French troops, who held it until May 27, 1782."

It must have been with feelings of peculiar satisfaction, that Mr. Smith found himself once more engaged with his old classmate and friend, in efforts to advance the interests of the College. Of the Fellows, there were present at this meeting, besides himself and the President, the Hon. Jabez Bowen, of Providence; the Hon. Joshua Babcock, of Westerly; the Rev. Samuel Stillman, of Boston; and Doctor Thomas Eyres, of Newport. Of the Trustees, there were present among others the Chancellor, the Hon. Stephen Hopkins; the three Browns—Nicholas, Joseph, and John; the Hon. Nicholas Cook the "War Governor;" John Jenckes, a son of Judge Jenckes, whom Manning had recently baptized; and the Rev. Isaac Backus; the Rev. William Rogers, the "first student

of the College," was also present; and in the absence of the Secretary, was appointed to act as Secretary *pro tem*. It is interesting, as a record of the past, to note some of the proceedings of the Corporation at this annual meeting. The following candidates for the degree of Bachelor in the Arts, having pursued their studies under President Manning during the years of suspension, were, after due examination, "approved and admitted:"—Obadiah Brown, Joseph Jenckes, Alexander Jones, and William McClellan. John Morley Green, Samuel Snow, and Doctor Levi Wheaton, students in the Junior Class at the time of the breaking up of the College by the war, were also admitted to the degree of Bachelor in the Arts. A committee appointed to revise the Charter made the following report, which was adopted:—

To the Corporation of the College, or University in the State of Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, The United States of America in Congress assembled, and the Legislature of the aforesaid State, having by the most solemn acts, renounced allegiance to the king of Great Britain, your committee beg leave to report the following form of engagement, to be administered to the officers of the Corporation in the room of the oath of allegiance prescribed by the Charter, to wit:— You ——— being elected a ——— of the College, or University, in the State of Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, do solemnly engage that you will faithfully execute the said office, agreeably to the Charter of the said College or University, to the best of your judgment or ability.

We also report, as our opinion, that the Corporation report the necessity of this alteration to the General Assembly, and request their approbation of the measure; and their establishment in future, of the present form, or such other as they shall think fit to substitute;—and also, to request the amendment of that clause in the Charter, which prohibits the Corporation from making any law, or order, contrary to the acts of the British Parliament.

A committee was appointed to break the old seal of

the College, which contained the busts of the king and queen of Great Britain, and to agree upon a new seal, with suitable devices, to be made of silver, and to report their proceedings to the Corporation. President Manning's account for salary from May 5, 1780, at £60 per annum, was allowed. His regular salary before the war was £100. It was also voted that the College Library, which had been in the keeping of the Rev. William Williams, at Wrentham, during the war, should be at once brought into town, that it might be used by the students as formerly.

Friday, Sept. 6. Went to Newport. Lodged with my good friend Mr. Thurston. Preached for the Sabatarians in Mr. Bliss' meeting house; from John 9: 35.—Sab., 8. Preached two sermons in the Episcopal meeting house in Newport, from Ex. 15: 2 and Heb. 12: 23.—Mon., 9. Returned to Providence.

These two houses of worship were the only ones which the British spared while in possession of the city. After they left the island, in 1779, the Trinity Episcopal Church was occupied for a number of years, according to the statement of the Hon. Wm. P. Sheffield, who is an authority in these matters, by the Rev. Gardner Thurston, Pastor of the Second Baptist Church. The Rev. William Bliss was Pastor of the Third Baptist Church, having succeeded the Rev. John Maxon, who died March 2, 1778. His church, it appears, was regarded as Sabatarian, or Seventh Day Baptist. Gov. Samuel Ward, a member of the Continental Congress, was a member of this church, and also the Rev. Ebenezer David, a graduate of the College in 1772. Dr. Thomas Eyres, the first Secretary of the Corporation, and the Rev. Dr. William

Rogers, the first student of the College, were members of Mr. Thurston's church.

Tuesday, Sept. 10. Met in Association, and continued in business relative to the good of the churches till Wednesday evening.—Thurs., 12. Set out for Haverhill, and arrived there Friday evening.

This was the first time that Mr. Smith had been able to meet with his brethren in the Warren Association since 1774. The occasion must have been one of more than ordinary interest. For the first time since the formation of the Association, the venerable mother church, founded by Roger Williams, was with them. For more than a century she had been classed as a leading church among the "Six Principle Baptist," so called, holding to the doctrine of "laying on of hands," opposed to singing in public worship, and opposed to a paid ministry. Now, under the guidance of the wise and eloquent Manning, she had come into harmonious relations with the Calvinistic Baptist Churches generally, and had invited the Association to meet within the walls of her spacious and elegant house, built, in the quaint language of the records, "for the worship of Almighty God, and to hold Commencements in."

Among the familiar names recorded as present in the minutes of this memorable meeting, we notice those of President Manning, Isaac Backus, and Ebenezer Hinds, of Middleborough, Noah Alden, of Bellingham, Bial Le Doyt, of Woodstock, Job Seamans, of Attleborough, and William Williams, of Wrentham. Mr. Smith presided as Moderator, and the Rev. Thomas Gair, of Medfield, acted as Clerk. The opening sermon was preached by Samuel Stillman. At the close of the first day's session,

the Association adjourned to 5 o'clock Wednesday morning, in order to spend some time in prayer, "previous to attending on business, on account of the affecting drought." This shows the earnestness and zeal with which our fathers engaged in their work, rising up early, and spending an hour before breakfast in special prayer and supplication. Nine o'clock is as early as the Association is called together in these modern times.

The following extract from the printed minutes shows that the College was uppermost in the thoughts of the members, and that in all their deliberations for "the good of the churches," they had in mind an institution founded for the express purpose of securing for the denomination at large an educated ministry:—

The Association, from a representation made to them by the Corporation of the College in Providence, of the low state of the funds of said College, and the urgent necessity of increasing them, in order to support suitable instructors therein, and from an idea of the great importance of good education, have taken into consideration as the most probable method to accomplish this valuable end, the recommendation of a subscription throughout all the Baptist Societies on this continent, as well as among the friends of literature of every denomination.

Our fathers were wise master-builders in their day, laying the foundations for spiritual development and growth broad and deep, as another extract from the minutes of this meeting of the Association in Providence shows:

As the instruction and morals of the rising generation are objects of very great importance, voted, That a spelling-book, containing a good English grammar and the Baptist Catechism, be published;—and Elder Foster¹ is desired to prepare said book for the press, in con-

¹ Benjamin Foster, D. D., a graduate of Yale College, in the class of 1774. He had been appointed to defend the Pedobaptist view of the baptismal controversy

junction with President Manning, and Elders Backus, Stillman, and Skillman.

The intention of this vote of the Association is very evident, but there seems to have been a difficulty in carrying it into effect. The next year, 1783, a new committee was appointed, of which Mr. Solomon Howe was a member. Mr. Howe reported, the year following, "that he had prepared a spelling-book and Catechism, which the Association voted to recommend, after it had been examined by competent and skillful hands." Whether Mr. Howe's work was ever published, and, if so, where a copy can now be found, are matters of interest to the antiquary, as well as the bibliographer.

Upon his return to Haverhill, Mr. Smith makes the usual entry in his diary, "Keeping school and studying." Under date of Wed., Oct. 9, 1782, he records the birth of his only daughter Rebecca. She proved to be a source of joy and comfort to the family. She was educated at the Bradford Female Seminary, where she was associated with Ann Hasseltine, afterwards the wife of the celebrated missionary, Dr. Adoniram Judson. Extracts from her letters from Burmah, to her early schoolmate at the Seminary, are published in "Knowles' Memoir of Mrs. Judson." After the death of her father, Miss Smith became the wife of the late Thomas Kendall, a well-known and highly respected merchant of Boston, and a deacon in the Rev. Dr. Sharp's church. She is represented by those

in one of the college exercises. As a result, he became a decided Baptist. He united with Dr. Stillman's church in Boston, and in 1775 was ordained as Pastor of the Baptist Church in Leicester, Mass. In 1785, he became Pastor of the First Baptist Church in Newport. He afterwards became Pastor of the First Baptist Church in New York, where he died, Aug. 24, 1798. In 1792, Rhode Island College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

who knew her, as a woman of rare personal beauty,¹ possessing great moral worth and superior mental acquirements. Her manners were engaging, and she displayed under all circumstances, an elevated mind and uncommon dignity of character. She died a half a century and more ago, in great peace, leaving a daughter, named, after her, Rebecca, who married the late Rev. Dr. R. A. Fyfe, of Woodstock, Canada. To this daughter who died recently, I have referred in my Introduction.

Thurs., Oct. 24. Preached a sermon at Asa Messer's, from Psalms 103: 2.

This was the father of President Messer, to whom we shall presently have occasion to refer.

Thurs., Nov. 28. Continental Thanksgiving. Preached a sermon in my meeting house in Haverhill, from Dent. 8: 10, 11. Also married Timothy Sanders to Polly Honneford, both of Haverhill.

Fri., Jan. 24, 1783. Preached a preparatory sermon before the Sacrament in my meeting house in Haverhill from Acts 4: 32: "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common."

This extract is given as an illustration of the preacher's custom throughout his entire ministry. He attached great importance to the ordinances "as they were delivered." His diary shows that he made it a rule to preach to his people a preparatory sermon on the Friday previous to the observance of the Lord's Supper, which was usually on the first Lord's Day in the month. In the present instance it was on the last Lord's Day.

¹ She was like her father, tall, graceful, and well proportioned. A correspondent writes:—"I remember Mrs. Sharp telling me she was the most elegant woman she ever saw."

1783. Tues., April 29. Was the day of rejoicing in Haverhill, on the account of Peace between Great Britain and America.

It was indeed "glad tidings" to the people of Haverhill, who had made such sacrifices for liberty, and who had been noted throughout the war for their patriotism. We can imagine with what joy the good pastor read to his assembled flock the preliminary announcements, how the bonfires were lighted, the bells were rung, and cannon were fired. And with what grateful emotions the devout-minded poured out their thanksgivings to God, in accents of praise and prayer.

Thurs., May 15. Preached two sermons in my meeting house in Haverhill, from Joel 2: 12, 13, it being a Fast throughout the State.—Fri., 16, Sat., 17. My workmen were framing the under work of my store.—Fri., 23. Preached a preparatory lecture, from Ps. 15: 12.—Mon., 26—Sat., 31. Finished building my shop chimney.—Sat., June 7. Set out for Boston.—Sab., 8.—Preached two sermons in Mr. Stillman's meeting house in Boston, from Prov. 14: 14, and Prov. 22: 14, and another in Mr. Stillman's meeting house, from Rom. 10: 11.—Mon., 9. In Boston.—Tues., 10. Returned home.—Mon., June 16. Began my school again.—Sab., Aug. 31. Preached two sermons in my meeting house in Haverhill, from Col. 1: 10, 19, and administered the Sacrament of the Supper, then with Mrs. Smith went to Mr. Thomas Osgood's.—Mon., Sept. 1. We went to Col. Dana's, and from there to Mr. Friesoll's in Newton, where we lodged.—Tues., 2. We went to Nicholas Brown's in Providence.—Wed., 3. Attended the Commencement.—Thurs., 4. I met with the Corporation of Rhode Island College.—Fri., 5. Waited upon a number of gentlemen by desire of the Corporation, to get subscriptions for a philosophical apparatus and a library for the use of the College. The whole of the subscription for this purpose amounted to about £600 lawful money.—Sab., 7. Preached in the forenoon in Mr. Snow's meeting house, from Jer. 31: 3; in the afternoon in Mr. Manning's meeting house, from Eph. 2: 13; and in the evening in Mr. Snow's, from Rom. 10: 11.—Mon., 8. My wife and I returned to Medfield.—Tues., 9. To Little Cambridge.—Wed., 10. To Boston.—Thurs., 11. To Haverhill, and found all well except my little daughter, who was a little indisposed.

This Commencement, which Mr. Smith attended, was the first since the breaking up of the College by the war. Dr. Stillman preached on the occasion an animating sermon, from Luke 15: 32, "It was meet that we should make merry and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found." President Manning, writing to a friend respecting the Commencement, says: "It met the highest approbation of a most numerous assembly, among whom were the High Consul of France, the Count dal Verme of Milan, and several English and Dutch merchants, who were very liberal in their encomiums on the performers and performances." Speaking of the subscriptions to which the diary refers, he adds:—"Mr. John Brown requested the Corporation to ascertain the sum necessary to procure a complete philosophical apparatus and library, and offered to advance, forthwith, one-half the sum, provided the Corporation would advance, or find ways and means to advance, the other half. A subscription was immediately set on foot and pursued by Mr. Smith in the town the succeeding days, which amounted to better than £340; and will, with Mr. John Brown's, equal, if not exceed, £700, lawful money." The Association this year met Sept. 9, in Charlton, Massachusetts. Mr. Smith, it appears, did not attend, being obliged, evidently, to return that week to his home.

Sat., Oct. 11. Mr. Trask laid my hearths in the store.—Mon., June 7, 1784. Had my wall laid back of my garden next to the river.—Sat., July 10. At 3 o'clock in the morning my son James was born.—Sat., July 31. My son James died.—Sat., Aug. 1. Preached two sermons in my meeting house in North Rowle, from 2 Tim. 2. 11, 12, and towards night buried my son, James Smith.

This infant son was named, without doubt, after Mr. Smith's classmate and life-long friend, President James Manning.

1785. Tues., June 7. Went to Northwood, and put up at Elder Pillsbury's.—Wed., 8. Preached an introductory sermon to the delegates of the associated churches, from Isa. 9: 6, after which entered upon the business of the Association.—Thurs., 9. Met with the churches.—Fri., 10. Preached a sermon in Brentwood meeting house from Luke 14: 23.

This is the New Hampshire Association, commenced, says Backus, as early as 1776. Mr. Smith continued to attend the meetings of this Association with great regularity, until the close of life. The churches which it represented were formally received into a "brotherly connection with the Warren Association," in the year 1784, as appears from the printed minutes.

Under date of April 9, 1785, Mr. Smith writes:—"Men and horses crossed the Merrimack River upon the ice opposite Haverhill town." This shows that all the remarkable weather has not occurred during the present day and generation. Mr. Chase, in his history of Haverhill, says:—"The year 1785 was one of remarkable extremes of weather, etc.—April 1. The snow was three feet deep on a level, and so hard, that, as late as the 15th, it was used for skating, and still later bore up cattle. On the 13th, the Merrimack was passable on the ice."

Mon., Sept. 12. Left home and went to Mr. Gair's in Medfield.—Tues., 13. Went to Wrentham and preached an introductory sermon to the business of the Association, in Mr. Williams' meeting house, from Dan. 9: 24. Attended the Association the next day.

This of course is the Warren Association. President

Manning made the opening prayer, after which Mr. Smith was chosen Moderator, and Thomas Gair, Clerk. The following extract from the printed minutes of this meeting, shows that the establishment of peace throughout the land had not settled all the difficulties with the churches:—"Having received letters from several places where our brethren and friends are taxed to the other denominations, re-chose our Committee of Grievances, viz.: Elders Stillman, Skillman, Smith of Haverhill, Barkus, and Blood, for the purposes expressed in the last year's minutes." The minutes for the year previous read as follows:—"Accounts were received from various parts of our country, that distress has lately been made upon a number of our brethren and friends, for the support of a way of worship which we conscientiously dissent from; which is not only a violation of the law of God, but also directly against the fundamental principles of the late Revolution in America; therefore, this Association are resolved to unite in the most prudent and vigorous measures, for putting a stop to these oppressions, and to maintain the just rights of our brethren and friends; and for this end do make choice of the following Committee of Grievances, to act in this cause according to their best discretion; and we will recommend to our several Societies to communicate their proportion of the necessary expense hereof."

Thurs., 15. Went to Mr. Martin's in Thompson, in Killingly.—Fri., 16. Went to Mr. Brigham's, in Mansfield.—Sat., 17. Went to Mr. Merriman's, in Southington. Next day preached two sermons in the place, from Dan. 9: 24.—Mon., 19. Went to Aunt Dibble's in Danbury.—Tues., 20. Went to Mr. Hunt's, in Phillips Manor.—Wed., 21. To Mr. Hall's, on York Island.—Thurs., 22. Went to Newark.—Fri., 23. To Happy Cook's at Kennew Brook, to see my mother.—Sat., 24.

To Lyon's Farms.—**Sab., 25.** Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house at Lyon's Farms, from Luke 14: 23. Then went to my brother Jeremiah Smith's at Elizabethtown.—**Mon., 26.** To Mr. Brooka.—**Tues., 27.** To brother Peter's at Chatham. Preached from Hos. 14: 9.—**Wed., 28.** To Scotch Plains. Preached two sermons there from Hos. 14: 9, and Heb. 10: 24, 25.—**Thurs., 29.** Preached at Nathaniel Drake's, from John 3: 18. Then went to Piscataqua, and lodged at my Uncle's.—**Fri., 30.** Preached at Short Hill, from Luke 14: 23.—**Sat., Oct. 1.** Preached at the Sablatarian meeting house in Piscataqua, from Isa. 3: 9, 10.—**Sab., 2.** Preached two sermons at Scotch Plains, from Gen. 45: 28, and in the evening one at my Uncle's in Piscataqua, from 1 Peter 2: 7.—**Mon., 3.** Went to Newtown.—**Tues., 4.** To Philadelphia.—**Wed., 5.** Attended the Association, and in the evening preached in the city, from 1 John 5: 3.—**Thurs., 6.** Went to Southampton.—**Fri., 7.** To Hopewell.—**Sat., 8.** To Scotch Plains. Preached from 1 John 5: 3.—**Sab., 9.** Preached at Scotch Plains two sermons, from Dan. 9: 24, and administered the Lord's Supper.—**Mon., 10.** Preached at Uriah Smith's, from 1 John 5: 3.—**Tues., 11.** Preached a sermon at Happy Cook's, from Job 14: 14, and in the evening at Obadiah Smith's, from Isa. 61: 10.—**Wed., 12.** Preached at Mr. Dunham's, from Acts 16: 31, 32, and in the evening at Happy Cook's from 2 Cor. 13: 11.—**Thurs., 13.** Preached in New York from Isa. 61: 1.—**Fri., 14.** Preached a sermon in Mr. Gano's pulpit, in New York, from Luke 14: 23.—**Sat., 15.** At my brother Jeremiah Smith's, at Paulus Hook.—**Sab., 16.** Preached two sermons more in New York from 1 John 5: 3, and Dan. 9: 24.—**Mon., 17.** In New York and Paulus Hook.—**Tues., 18.** Went to Benj. Lyon's, at White Plains.—**Wed., 19.** Went to S. Runnel's in Bedford. Preached there from Gen. 45: 28.—**Thurs., 20.** A violent storm.—**Fri., 21.** Went to Danbury.—**Sat., 22.** Went to Southington.—**Sab., 23.** Preached a sermon in Southington, from 1 John 5: 3.—**Mon., 24.** Preached at East Hartford, from 1 John 5: 3.—**Tues., 25.** Preached at Deacon Rowlee's, in Ashford, from 1 John 5: 3.—**Wed., 26.** Went to Bellingham.—**Thurs., 27.** To Boston.—**Fri., 28.** Home.

The foregoing affords a good illustration of Mr. Smith while on his travels. He left home **Mon., Sept. 12,** and returned **Oct. 28,** having been absent six weeks. During this time he attended the meetings of the Warren and the

Philadelphia Associations, visited his relations in Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, and preached almost daily in private houses and in churches;—and everywhere the people gladly flocked together to hear the “great man of Haverhill,” who had rendered signal service as a revivalist, and as a prominent Chaplain in the American Army. At the meeting of the Philadelphia Association, he met his friend, President Manning, who was accustomed to attend from year to year these anniversaries, his college vacation coming directly after the Commencements in September. He preached the closing sermon, Thursday evening, Oct. 6, from John 1 : 29. Mr. Smith preached the evening previous. The following extract is from the printed minutes of this meeting:—“A letter from the Warren Association, held at Wrentham, State of Massachusetts, Sept. 14, 1785, was delivered by their messenger, Bro. Hezekiah Smith, and read, whereby it appears that, in the neighborhood of Boston, several persons of unblemished reputation were imprisoned the winter past, by reason of their refusing to support a way of worship, repugnant to the dictates of their own minds. Though the Constitution under which they live equally secures *their* privileges, with those who, repugnant to all sound policy, continue to persecute them.”

Mon., Oct. 31. Went to Boston to meet with the Baptist Committee.

This is the Committee on Grievances, of which Dr. Stillman was chairman, to which we have already referred in connection with the meeting of the Warren Association for this year.

Mon., May 15, 1786. Went to Col. Dana's, in Little Cambridge.—

Tues., 16. Went to my good friend Nicholas Brown's, in Providence.—**Wed., 17—Sat., 20.** In Providence.—**Sab., 21.** Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house, in Providence, from Matt. 10: 32, and Prov. 16: 3, and in the evening in Mr. Snow's meeting house, from Acts 26: 18.—**Mon., 22.** Visiting.—**Tues., 23.** Preached a sermon in the Baptist meeting house, in Providence, from Matt. 25: 32.—**Fri., 26.** Went to Mr. Gair's in Medfield.—**Sat., 27.** Went to Col. Dana's in Little Cambridge.—**Sab., 28.** Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house, in Newton, from Matt. 25: 32.—**Mon., 29.** At Col. Dana's.—**Tues., 30.** Preached a lecture at Mr. Whittemore's, from Acts 26: 18.—**Wed., 31.** Heard Mr. West preach the Election Sermon, and Thurs., 1st of June, heard Dr. Hammond preach the Convention Sermon.—**Fri., 2.** Went home.

The visit to Providence as here recorded, had special reference to the supply of the pulpit of the Baptist Church. President Manning had recently been appointed to a seat in the Continental Congress, and had already entered upon the duties of his office, with the intention of remaining there until the coming November, in order the better to look after the interests of the College. His views in this matter are happily expressed in a letter to the Rev. Dr. Rippon of London:—"The motive of my accepting this most unexpected, unsolicited, but unanimous appointment of the State to that office, was the recovery of a considerable sum of money due to the College, for the use taken of the edifice, and the damage done to it, by the public in the late war. It was thought by those most acquainted with the state of our application to that honorable body, that my presence would facilitate that grant, more especially as none of the persons likely to be elected would greatly interest themselves in that business." In reference to his continuance in the pastorate, he adds:—"Both the College and the Congregation are, I hope, well provided for during my absence. The

latter are now looking out for a minister. I ever declined the pastoral care of the Church as quite incompatible with my engagements to the College, though I have preached, administered ordinances, visited the sick, attended funerals, etc., for the last fifteen years, without assistance. Convinced that I cannot hold that place, with advantage to them, and hold the presidency of the College, I have strongly recommended to them to obtain if possible a minister, and they are now looking out for one." It is evident from Manning's correspondence, that the people in Providence had strong hopes of Smith as his successor in the pastorate; being, to use Manning's own words, in reference to one who should take his place, "a man of letters, politeness, strict piety and orthodoxy, of popular talents, possessed of a good share of human prudence, and no bigot."¹ Mr. Nicholas Brown, under date of April 2, after referring to Manning's going to Congress, and to his recommendation to the Church in regard to a successor in the pastorate, adds:—"The Committee before mentioned are not only to obtain supplies in his absence, but are to look up a suitable person to take charge of the Church as a pastor. You know he must be a man of learning, and prudently popular. The Society will engage such an one a genteel living. Your advice, my dear friend, if nothing more, is absolutely necessary at this juncture. No one, let me add, will be more acceptable, on all accounts, than yourself, as a candidate for this important place." Notwithstanding the great popularity of Mr. Smith in Providence, and the urgency of the requests made to him by the Browns, Mr. Benson, Mr.

¹ Letter to the Rev. Dr. Rippon, of London, dated April 7, 1798. See "Manning and Brown University." Page 361.

Jenckes, and other prominent members of the Baptist Society, he wisely, judged by subsequent events, decided to remain in Haverhill, with the church of his first love.

Fri., June 16, 1786. Went to Boston.—Sat., 17. I saw the procession over the Bridge from Boston to Charlestown. The procession consisted of a few cadets, the artificers who worked on the Bridge, the proprietors, the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Council, Senators, Representatives, Ministers, Officers of the Army, Magistrates, and other gentlemen.

A full account of the opening of the "new Bridge over Charles River," is given in the "United States Chronicle," published in Providence, under date of June 22, in which it is described as a commodious and handsome structure, 1470 feet in length, 42 in width, completed in thirteen months, and exhibiting the greatest effect of private enterprise in the United States. "The joyous day," the account states, "was announced at sunrise, by a discharge of thirteen cannon on each of the opposite heights of Bunker Hill, in Charlestown, and Copp's Hill, in Boston, accompanied by repeated peals from the bells of Christ Church. This salute formed a contrast so striking compared with the hostile and bloody one of the same day of the month and week in 1776, as to excite in every breast ideas of the happiest kind." The procession to which the diary refers was very long, and the streets and houses on the route were crowded with at least twenty thousand spectators. At the foot of Bunker Hill were two large semicircular tables, where eight hundred gentlemen dined, and toasts were drank under a discharge of cannon. "It was a reflection as striking to the mind, as it was exquisite to the feelings of the whole company, that on the same day, and at the same hour, when this hill was

drenched in blood, and the town at its foot enveloped in flames, the whole government of the State was seated on the spot, at a genial board, in peace and happiness, with a prospect on all sides, which groups all the beauties of perspective nature, contemplating a large and flourishing town, rising on ruins, and now united to the capital by a bold and successful effort of ingenuity and enterprise."

Sab., Sept. 3. Preached two sermons, from Psalms 101: 2—Mon., 4. Set out from Mr. Thos. Osgood's, and went to Mann's in Wrentham, in a chaise, with my son Hezekiah.

This, as we have already stated, was Mr. Smith's eldest son, a lad of fifteen, now on his way to enter college. President Manning several times refers to him in his published correspondence. He had not the scholarly tastes of his father, and evidently needed, in the words of his Instructor, "a little more stability." He left college during his Senior year, and hence his name does not appear in the triennial catalogues. He became eventually a farmer and trader, and settled in New Hampshire, where he died at an advanced age.

Tues., Sept. 5. Went to Mr. Nicholas Brown's in Providence, and attended to the business of the Corporation until Friday evening, only on Wednesday attended the Commencement. Fifteen were graduated.

This year the public exercises of Commencement, which had been suspended since 1776, with the exception of the year 1782, were resumed. Of the fifteen young men who took their Bachelor's degree upon this occasion, may be mentioned the Salutatorian, James Manning, a nephew of the President, the Valedictorian, Lemuel Kollock and Nicholas Brown, Jr., afterwards the distinguished benefactor of the College. He was at this time but seven-

teen years of age, having entered the Freshman Class in 1782, as has already been stated. Mr. Brown commenced his princely benefactions in February, 1792, by presenting to the Corporation the sum of five hundred dollars, to be expended in the purchase of law books for the library. In a letter accompanying the gift he says:—"I make this donation under a deep impression of the generous intentions of my honored father, deceased, towards the college in this town, as well as from my own personal feelings towards the institution in which I received my education, and from a desire to promote literature in general, and in particular the laws of our country, under the influence whereof not only our property, but our lives and dearest privileges are protected." To this sum he afterwards added five hundred dollars, to be expended in the purchase of books of a more general character. In 1804, he presented to the Corporation the sum of five thousand dollars, as a foundation for a professorship of oratory and belles-lettres. It was on this occasion, in consideration of this donation, and of others that had been received from him and his kindred, that the name of the institution was changed, in accordance with a provision in its Charter, from Rhode Island College to Brown University. In 1822, he erected, at his own expense, the second college building, which he presented to the Corporation, in a letter bearing date Jan. 13, 1823. At his suggestion it was named "Hope College," in honor of his only surviving sister, Mrs. Hope Ives, wife of Thomas Poynton Ives, his partner in business. In 1834, he erected the third college building, which he also presented to the Corporation, with a request that it might be named "Manning Hall," in honor of the memory of his own distinguished instructor and revered friend, President Manning. Mr. Brown

died, Sept. 27, 1841, at the age of seventy-two. A discourse commemorative of his character and life was delivered by President Wayland, in the University Chapel, which discourse was afterwards published. The entire sum of his recorded benefactions and bequests to the University amounts to one hundred and sixty thousand dollars, assigning to the donations of land and buildings the valuation which was put upon them at the time they were made. The monuments of his wise and pious benefactions are not confined to the University. "So long," says Prof. Gammell, "as learning and religion shall have a place in the affections of men, these enduring memorials will proclaim his character and speak his eulogy. *Hi sanctissimi testes, hi maximi laudatores.*"

Sat., Sept. 9. Preparing for the exercises of the Sabbath.—Sabb., 10. Preached three sermons in the Baptist meeting house in Providence, from Isa. 48: 17, and Gal. 4: 6.—Mon., 11. Went to Medfield and preached one sermon in the Baptist meeting house there, from Psalm 4: 18.—Tues., 12. Went to Newton and attended the Association.—Wednesday evening, preached a sermon at Col. Dana's, from Rom. 6: 14.—Thurs., 14. Went home.

The Rev. Caleb Blood was Pastor of the church with which the annual meetings of the Warren Association were held this year. The introductory sermon, as we learn from the minutes, was preached by the Rev. Isaac Backus, after which Mr. Smith was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. Thos. Gair, of Medfield, Clerk. Stillman, Skillman, Alden, Williams, and Scamans were present, but Manning, to whom the Association had so often looked as a leader, was in New York, attending to his duties as a member of the Continental Congress. At this meeting the late sufferings of the Church and Society

in Cambridge were considered; upon which it was unanimously

Resolved, That as our denomination, in this Commonwealth, have been long oppressed by the Congregationalists, who have claimed the power of supporting religious ministers by tax and compulsion; and as in consequence of this, our brethren in Cambridge, besides their time and trouble, have lately been at the expense of thirty-three pounds, fifteen shillings, we earnestly recommend, that each church in this Association raise a proportion of that sum, as soon as may be, and forward the same to Mr. Isaac Skillman of Boston, or to Mr. Thomas Green, of Cambridge, for the relief of those sufferers. And this we do, considering it is in the general cause of liberty these friends have stood forth, a cause which concerns the citizens of America at large, and particularly affects us; considering, also, that what they have done has evidently given a check to such oppressions, and that nothing tends more to bring them to an end than a full conviction in our oppressors, that we are united in supporting each other in a determined refusal to give any countenance to their arbitrary claims of power over us. To these reasons for assisting our aforesaid brethren,¹ we likewise add, that we have formerly given encouragement to stand by each other in this cause, and are bound by sacred obligations to these expressions of obedience to Christ.

The "Circular Letter" to the churches for this year was prepared by Mr. Smith. The following closing exhortation affords a good illustration of his skill and power as a religious teacher:—"Attend to the covenant and solemn obligations into which you have mutually

¹ Backus, in his history, thus refers to this case:—"The first University in America is in Cambridge, where an early example of oppression appeared after the war. A Baptist Church was constituted in that town in 1781, and they had a Pastor ordained in 1783; yet they were all taxed for the support of Congregational ministers, and three men were imprisoned in 1781. Therefore they sued the assessors who taxed them, and their case was carried through their inferior and superior courts in 1783, and was turned against the Baptists, which cost them more than a hundred dollars." In a later volume, he adds:—"The Baptists sued the money out of the hands of their oppressors, first in Cambridge, then in Lexington, and lastly in Woburn. * * * As soon as the Congregational party found they could not hold the money, they collected no more taxes for any ministers from the Baptists."

entered; and wherein you have been deficient in the discharge of your covenant obligations, seek earnestly to God by prayer for pardon; and be incessant in your supplications for renewed strength and grace, that you might be faithful in future. Watch against all kinds of evil. Be ever ready to do good. As members of Christ's Church, be ready to contribute your assistance in every branch of duty, especially in discipline. Let covetousness not be indulged amongst you. Remember, he who withholdeth more than is meet tendeth to poverty. May you receive fresh anointings from the Holy Ghost; be filled with his gifts and grace; and adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour."

Mr. Smith now resumed his occasional preaching tours, as the following entry in his diary shows:—

Mon., Oct. 2. Preached a sermon at Nehemiah Gilman's, in Exeter, from Luke 5: 27, and from the same text the next evening at Esquire Lord's, in Berwick.—Wed., 4. Preached at Capt. Hall's at Massabesick,¹ from John 21: 22.—Thurs., 5. Went to Mr. How's, in Flintown.—Fri., 6. To Mr. Parley's, in Bridgetown.—Sat., 8. Preached three sermons in Bridgetown, from John 4: 8, Isa. 55: 4, and Heb. 2: 3.—Mon., 9. In Waterford, from 1 Pet. 2: 7, at Mr. Hoy's.—Tues., 10. Went to Sudbury.—Wed., 11. Preached two sermons at Mr. Hefastin's, from John 3: 14, and Isa. 40: 3, 4.—Thurs., 12. Preached at Mr. Hastings's, from John 3: 16, and in the evening at Mr. Russell's, from 2 Cor. 5: 17.—Fri., 13. At Jonathan Bartlett's, from Acts 26: 18, and in the evening at Moses Bartlett's, from John 21: 19.—Sat., 15. Two sermons at Mr. Russell's, from John 3: 7, and Heb. 2: 3, and in the evening at Capt. Twitchel's, from Eze. 33: 11.—Mon., 16. At Mr. Russell's, from Heb. 12: 25.—Tues., 17. At Mr. Stearne's, in New Suncook, from Rom. 9: 33.—Wed., 18. At Isaac Walker's, in Fryeburgh, from 2 Cor. 5: 17.—Thurs., 19. Went to Conway.—Fri., 20. Went through Eaton, Yarmouth, to Sandwich. Preached at Mr.

¹ Near, probably, Massabesick Pond, in Chester, a town in New Hampshire, seventeen miles from Exeter. This pond is the largest body of fresh water in the country, containing about 1,500 acres.

Head's, from Heb. 12: 25.—Sat., 21. Went through Moultonborough, New Hampton, to Meredith, to John Falham's. Preached three sermons there the next day, from Acts 26: 18, Luke 5: 27, and Heb. 2: 3.—Mon., 23. Preached in Gilmantown, from Eze. 33: 11, in Sanborn-town, Isa. 3: 10, 11, and in the evening, from 2 Cor. 5: 17.—Tues., 24. Went to Concord.—Wed., 25. Went home to Haverhill.

Mr. Smith was absent from home, on this tour in Maine and New Hampshire, twenty-three days, during which he preached twenty-seven sermons. In a letter to Manning he speaks of it as having afforded him great satisfaction. Manning thus refers to it in his reply, dated Jan. 18: "You mention an agreeable journey last October, but do not tell me where. I think with you that there is something godlike in preaching to the poor who cannot recompense us; but it is our misfortune to be so generally of that number, that we can only contemplate it. I supply the pulpit when able, but have had no application from the church, as such, to do it."

Thurs., March 22, 1787. Preached two sermons in Haverhill, from Jer. 5: 12, it being a general Fast throughout the Commonwealth.

This Fast had special reference doubtless to "Shay's Rebellion," so called, which had recently been suppressed, as well as to the great Convention of delegates which was soon to meet in Philadelphia for the express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation. Mr. Smith, it will be observed, entered fully into the spirit of the occasion, holding two services with his people, and preaching two sermons from the words of the prophet Jeremiah, who reproached the house of Israel and the house of Judah for having "dealt treacherously against the Lord," belieing him, and saying:—"Neither shall evil come upon us, neither shall we see sword nor famine."

Tues., July 10. Went to Boston.—Wed., 11. Agreed with the State Attorney upon three men to estimate the damage I sustained in the purchase of Mr. Gould's estate, etc.—Thurs., 12. Went home.

This business had reference perhaps to the estate purchased several years previous of the "Committee for settling the estates of absentees," as indicated in the following petition to the General Court, a copy of which is among the Smith papers:—

THE HONORABLE THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN GENERAL COURT ASSEMBLED.

The Petition of Hezekiah Smith

Showeth:

That early in the present contest with Great Britain your petitioner entered into the service of the United States, in which he continued upwards of five years, when, at the instigation of his Society, who had long been destitute of stated preaching, together with his temporal circumstances, he was obliged to leave it. Through the unexpected changes of the paper currency, your petitioner has suffered much, in taking in what he had upon interest before these times, at a depreciated rate; by which his circumstances are so straitened, that necessity impels him to trouble your honors with this petition, that he might be favored with an order of Court upon the Treasurer, or some other way to receive the interest due upon the notes given him for the depreciation of money whilst in the Army, to enable him to discharge a debt lately contracted with the Committee for settling the estates of absentees in the County of Essex. Your petitioner purchased of them a small building, with the land belonging to it, for which he engaged to give one hundred and five pounds, relying on the justice of the public to assist him in the discharge of the same. Should the finances of the public prevent, the just and benevolent dispositions of your Honors from gratifying your petitioner in this his reasonable request, he begs your favor that he might be permitted to give his note payable when the state of the public funds shall be able to furnish him with the money to discharge the same. Your petitioner as in duty bound,

Will ever pray.

HEZEKIAH SMITH.

HAVERHILL, March 5, 1782.

Resuming now our extracts from the diary:—

Sat., Sept. 2, 1787. Preached two sermons in my meeting house in Haverhill, from Matt. 12: 18.—Mon., 3. Went to Mr. Hidden's in Walpole.—Tues., 4. Went to Mr. Brown's in Providence.—Wed., 5. Attended Commencement, in Providence.—Thurs., 6. Attended the Corporation meeting.

The Commencement for this year seems to have been one of unusual interest, "a large, polite, and crowded assembly of gentlemen and ladies attending upon the exercises, and thus doing honor to the day and themselves by encouraging polite literature, and those useful arts which are the glory of civilized countries." Among the orations upon this occasion was one by Nathaniel Lambert, on "The present appearance of public affairs in the United States of America—portraying the superior advantages to be enjoyed by this country, and the public happiness rationally to be expected, in case the States shall harmoniously agree on the great Federal measures necessary for the good of the whole, whereon the Convention have been deliberating at Philadelphia, and recommending industry, the manufactures of our country, and the disuse of foreign goods; and soliciting the fair daughters of America to set the patriotic example by banishing from their dress the costly gewgaws and articles of foreign production." We have given the title of this remarkable oration in full, as it appeared on the printed programmes. Doubtless, the worthy President, who was an ardent "Federalist," had something to do with the selection of the topic, and its happy treatment.

The graduates numbered ten. At the head of the list stands the name of Abner Akden, afterwards master of the famous school at Raynham, Mass., and author of

"The Reader," and "The Spelling-book," which furnished the "rudiments" for our ancestors in the "Old Colony" half a century ago. Among them too we notice Samuel Eddy, for twenty-one years in succession the Secretary of State in Rhode Island, and Jonathan Maxcy, President Manning's successor in the pastoral office, and also in the presidency of the College. Mr. Maxcy delivered a poem on the prospects of America, together with the valedictory oration.

Fri., Sept. 7. In Providence.—Sat., 8. Went to Greenwich to General Varnum's.¹—Sab., 9. Preached two sermons in Greenwich Court House, from Rev. 16: 15, and returned to Providence that evening.—Mon., 10. Went to Boston.—Tues., 11. Accomplished my business with the Governor and Council, and preached a sermon at Mr. Whittimore's that evening, from Psalms 73: 26.—Wed., 12. Went home.

Mr. Smith preached in his pulpit the following Lord's Day, and then set out on a missionary tour:—

Mon., Sept. 17. Went to Concord. Lodged at Maj. Wm. Duncan's.—Tues., 18. Went to Plymouth. Lodged at Elder Webster's.—Wed., 19. Went to Wentworth. Lodged at Samuel Keyes', and preached a sermon there the next day, from Eccl. 8: 12, 13.—Fri., 21. Went to Haverhill (N.H.), in Lower Coos. Lodged at Judge Ladd's.—Sat., 22. Went to Piermont, and returned that day.—Sab., 23. Preached two sermons at Judge Ladd's, from Isa. 3: 10, 11, and Rev. 16: 15, and at Col. Thos. Johnson's, in Newbury, in Vermont State, in the evening,

¹ Gen. James Mitchell Varnum, a member of the first graduating class of Rhode Island College. After graduating he studied law and established himself in East Greenwich. Here he built him a house, which was regarded at the time as one of the finest in the Colony. In it he entertained in state, just previous to the battle of Rhode Island, Generals Lafayette, Sullivan, Greene, and other distinguished officers of the American Army. The house, which is still in a good state of preservation, is now owned and occupied by Doct. Bowen, a son-in-law of the late Judge Drayton, Gen. Varnum was under appointment at this time as one of the Judges of the Northwestern Territory, and about to set out for his new home in Marietta, Ohio. Hence doubtless the occasion of Mr. Smith's visit.

from 1 Pet. 2: 7.—Mon., 24. Went to Mr. Chase's, in Littleton.—Tues., 25. Went to Esquire Fames', in Upper Coos.—Wed., 26. Preached a sermon at Esquire Fames', from John 3: 3.—Thurs., 27. Preached at Col. Buckman's, in Lancaster, from Isa. 55: 6.—Fri., 28. Preached at Major Sam'l Young's, in Gunthrite, from Heb. 2: 3.—Sat., 29. Went to Judge Ladd's, in Lower Coos.—Sab., 30. Preached three sermons in Haverhill, Lower Coos, from Eze. 33: 11, Heb. 12: 25, and Titus 2: 14. In the evening at Widow Fitz's.—Mon., Oct. 1. Preached a sermon at Morristown, from Gal. 5: 1.—Tues., 2. Preached two sermons in Canaan, from Matt. 22: 42, and John 3: 7.—Wed., 3. Preached a sermon in New Salisbury, from Sol. Song 5: 16.—Thurs., 4. Went to Mr. Bailey's, in Weare.—Fri., 5. Preached two sermons there, from Sol. Song 5: 16, and Isa. 54: 5.—Sat., 6. Visiting.—Sab., 7. Preached two sermons in Weare, from Ecc. 8: 12, 13, and Rev. 16: 15.—Mon., 8. Returned home.

This tour in New Hampshire and Vermont may have had some connection with a petition which Mr. Smith was to present to the Legislature. In a letter from Manning, under date Dec. 17, 1788, he says:—"I hope you meet with success in the petition to the House of New Hampshire."

Wed., April 23, 1788. Assisted in installing the Rev. Thos. Gair in Boston. I gave the Right Hand of Fellowship, and made the first prayer. Mr. Stillman preached the sermon, and Mr. Stanford, of Providence, gave the charge.—Thurs., 24. Visiting.—Fri., 25. Preached a sermon in Mr. Eckley's meeting house, from John 4: 8.—Sat., 26. Visiting.—Sab., 27. Preached in the forenoon in Mr. Gair's meeting house, from Isa. 61: 11, and in the afternoon in Mr. Stillman's meeting house, from Job 22: 21.—Mon., 28. Visiting.—Tues., 29. Returned home.—Thurs., May 1. Sowed my flax-seed, and planted potatoes.

Mr. Gair, who was thus installed as Pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Boston, was a native of the city, having been born there, Feb. 5, 1755. He was graduated at Rhode Island College, receiving his degree with others.

by special vote of the Board of Fellows, in 1777. His first settlement was in Medfield. His ministry in Boston was successful, and its results were felt long after his decease. He died April 27, 1790. One of his sons, Samuel Stillman Gair, was connected with the famous house of Baring Brothers, London.

Mon., June 2. Then Asa Messer quit his learning with me to go to College.

Mr. Messer was born in Methuen, formerly a part of Haverhill, in 1769. He was now therefore in his 20th year. President Manning, under date of June 10, thus writes concerning him:—"Yours of the 6th inst. came to hand a few hours since by Mr. Messer. We have examined and entered the young gentleman into the Sophomore Class, though he had not read quite so much as the class. His abilities and proficiency appear very good, and from your commendation of him we hope he will do well. Am obliged to you for your interest in forwarding him." He was graduated in 1790. It is no small compliment to his instructor, that he not only fitted him for college, but also taught him advanced studies, so that he was enabled to enter the Sophomore Class at the close of the year. He was elected a tutor of the College in 1791, and soon afterwards he became interested in religious truth, and joined the Baptist Church of which Rev. Dr. Maxcy was then the pastor. By this church he was licensed to preach, and in 1801 he received ordination. He served as Tutor until 1796, when he was elected Professor of the Learned Languages. In 1802, upon the resignation of Dr. Maxcy, he was chosen President of the College. This office he filled with ability and usefulness, until 1826, a period of twenty-four years. He died in Providence, Oct. 11,

1836, in the 68th year of his age. He received the degree of Doctor in Divinity from Harvard University, and that of Doctor of Laws from the University of Vermont. One of his pupils, the Rev. Dr. Park, of Andover, has paid a handsome tribute to his worth in Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit," as also the late President Sears, in his Centennial Address.

Wed., June 11. Set out for Stratham. Attended the Association, Elder Backus preached the introductory sermon. Got through with the business of the Association on Thursday, at the close of which I preached a sermon, from Job 22: 21.—Fri., 13. Returned home.

The pastor of the church at Stratham, Samuel Shepard, M. D., was baptized by Mr. Smith, as we have already stated, in June, 1770, and ordained, Sept. 25, 1771. No man in the history of the Baptist denomination in New Hampshire stands out more prominent than he.

Fri., June 12, 1789. A number of women waited upon us at my house, and presented to Mrs. Smith 163 double skeins of yarn. Our friends also presented to us upon the occasion a leg of bacon, a roasting pig, three cheeses, three and a half pounds of butter, one pound of tea, five and a half pounds of loaf sugar, one gallon of Anise-seed water, one half gallon of wine, six pounds of cotton wool, four tongues, one quarter of veal, one pound of flax.—Mon., 15—Wed., 17. A number of friends met at my house and presented to Mrs. Smith 72 double skeins of yarn.—Sat., 20. The whole of the yarn presented to Mrs. Smith from the 12th inst. is about 244 double skeins.

The foregoing entry exhibits a phase of pastoral life which is not limited to the times of the fathers. It is interesting to note that the most important gift to a pastor's wife consisted of 244 skeins of yarn. This was when the spinning-wheel was in every house, and constituted the chief item in household furnishings.

Mon., Aug. 31. Went to Newton.—Tues., Sept. 1. Went to Providence.—Wed., 2. Attended the Commencement.—Thurs., 3. Met with the Corporation of Providence College.—Fri., 4. Soliciting money to furnish a bell for the College.

President Manning's address to the graduating class upon this occasion, is published in "Manning and Brown University." Among those to whom it was especially addressed, we notice the names of Jeremiah Brown Howell, afterwards a member of the United States Senate, and James Fenner, for many years the popular and efficient Governor of Rhode Island. Mr. Fenner, it may be added, was the valedictorian of his class.

Sat., Sept. 5. Set sail for New York.—Tues., 8. Arrived at New York, and to my brother Jeremiah's at Paulus Hook.—Wed., 9. Preached a lecture in Mr. Foster's meeting house in New York, from Solomon's Song, 2: 10.—Thurs., 10. Went to Kennewbrook to Happy Cook's.—Fri., 11. Went to my brother Peter Smith's, at Chatham. Preached an evening lecture, from Solomon's Song, 2: 10, and the next evening at Happy Cook's from the same text.—Sab., 13. Preached at Kennewbrook, from Isa. 28: 16, Mark 16: 16, and 1 Tim. 1: 15.—Mon., 14. Went to Paulus Hook.—Tues., 15. Went to New York. Tarried there till Friday.—Thurs., 17. Preached a sermon in Mr. Foster's meeting house, from 1 Tim. 1: 15.—Fri., 18. Left New York for Newport by water. Arrived at Newport Sab., 20, and preached three sermons, from Solomon's Song, 2: 10, Isa. 28: 16, and 1 Tim. 1: 15.—Mon., 21. In Newport.—Tues., 22. Went to Providence.—Wed., 23. Preached in the Baptist meeting house, from 1 Tim. 1: 15.—Fri., 25. Preached a lecture in Mr. Snow's meeting house, from Solomon's Song, 2: 10.—Sab., 27. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house, from Psalms 63: 1, and Isa. 46: 12.—Mon., 28. Left Providence and went to Mr. Giles' in Attleborough. Preached there that evening from 1 Tim. 1: 15.—Tues., 29. Arrived at Haverhill at my own house.—Fri., Oct. 2. Bought the store opposite to me.

Mr. Smith now confined himself closely to his pas-

toral duties at home, until the following March, when he made a visit to Providence, where he remained three weeks, conducting revival meetings then in progress, and healing breaches in the church:—

Tues., March 2, 1790. Set out for Providence in Rhode Island and went to Boston.—Wed., 3. To Wrentham to Mr. Avery's. Tarried there till Friday, 5, and then went to Providence.—Sab., 7. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house, from Zech. 8: 3, and Gen. 4: 4. Preached a sermon in Mr. Snow's meeting house in the evening, from 2 Cor. 6: 2.—Tues., 9. Attended Conference meeting in the evening at Deacon Wheaton's.—Wed., 10. In the evening attended Conference meeting in the meeting house.—Sab., 14. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house, from 1 Kings 18: 21, and Acts 13: 41, and in the evening attended Conference meeting.—Mon., 15. Preached a sermon at Mr. Snow's meeting house, from Gen. 40: 14.—Tues., 16. Another at the Baptist meeting house, from Titus 2: 14.—Wed., 17. Attended the Conference meeting in the meeting house.—Thurs., 18. Attended at Esquire Jenckes' with a number of the church members to settle the differences between Mr. Pettee and Mr. Martin.—Fri., 19. Preached a sermon at Mr. Snow's meeting house, from John 5: 25.—Sab., 21. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house, from John 3: 16, and Mark 8: 37, and in the evening attended Conference meeting.—Mon., 22. Attended Conference meeting in the meeting house.—Tues., 23. Met a number of persons under soul concern and conversed with them.—Wed., 24. Attended Conference meeting in the meeting house. All the conferences were held in the evening.—Thurs., 25. Left Providence and went to Medfield.—Fri., 26. Went to Woburn.—Sat., 27. Went home to Haverhill.

Mr. Smith's labors in Providence seem to have been greatly blessed. President Manning in a letter, dated April 20, thus writes:—"The good work still continues, and I think has been gradually increasing amongst us since you left. Last Lord's Day I baptized two. * * * I believe there are from fifty to one hundred under serious impressions, and they crowd the evening meetings whenever and wherever they are appointed. * * * Not a few

of the students are under serious impressions. Many of the people here are often wishing to see Mr. Smith again." The President states further that he is obliged to go to the Jerseys in May, that the people mourn and lament at the thought of being left destitute, and he therefore urges his friend to make another visit to Providence. Mr. Smith accordingly makes another journey, as his diary records:—

Mon., May 24. Went to Thos. Osgood's.—Tues., 25. Went to Menotomy, to Rev. Mr. Green's.—Wed., 26. To Mr. Shedd's in Boston and there tarried till Saturday, when I went to Col. Dana's in Little Cambridge.—Sab., 30. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house in Newton, from Joshua 24: 15, and Luke 10: 42.—Mon., 31. Went to Mr. Clark's in Medfield.—Tues., June 1. Went to Mr. Nicholas Brown's in Providence.—Wed., 2. Attended conference meeting, and delivered an exhortation.—Thurs., 3. Visiting.—Fri., 4. Preached in the Baptist meeting house, from Josh. 24: 15.—Sat., 5. Visiting and preparing for the exercises of the next day.—Sab., 6. Preached three sermons in the Baptist meeting house, from Luke 10: 42, 1 Cor. 14: 22, and Isa. 40: 11.—Mon., 7. Rainy.—Tues., 8. Went to Mr. Morse's, in Medfield.—Wed., 9. To Mr. Shedd's, in Boston.—Thurs., 10. Preached in the late Mr. Gair's meeting house, from Isa. 40: 11.—Fri., 11. Went home.

Mr. Gair died April 27, six weeks previous to the time when Mr. Smith preached, as recorded in the diary.

Fri., June 18. Mr. Gano arrived in town from Kentucky, and preached both parts of the day, the Sabbath following.—Wed., June 27. Mr. Gano preached his farewell sermon in my meeting house, in Haverhill.

This is the Rev. Stephen Gano, M. D., who two years later became Pastor of the Baptist Church in Providence. He had just returned from a visit to his father, the Rev. John Gano, who, in 1787, removed from New York to

Frankfort, Kentucky, where he died, Aug. 10, 1804, in the 78th year of his age.

Fri., July 16. Went to Boston.—Sat., 17. At Boston.—Sab., 18. Preached in the forenoon at Dr. Stillman's meeting house, from 2 Cor. 6: 2, and in the afternoon in the other Baptist meeting house, from Isa. 25: 4.

Mr. Stillman is here called Dr. by Mr. Smith. He received the degree of Doctor in Divinity from Rhode Island College, in 1788.

Sat., Aug. 28, 1790. Went to Woburn.—Sab., 29. Preached two sermons, from Eccl. 12: 13, and 2 Cor. 5: 10.—Mon., 30. Went to Attleborough, and preached a sermon in the Baptist meeting house, from Eccl. 12: 13.—Tues., 31. Went to Providence, and Wednesday attended Commencement. Twenty-two took their degrees.—Thurs., Sept. 2. Attended the Corporation meeting.

Among the twenty-two young men who took their Bachelor's degree at this time, was Moses Brown, youngest son of Nicholas Brown, a bright and promising youth, who, a few months later, just as he had entered upon his sixteenth year, was seized with a disorder which suddenly put an end to his life. In this class was also graduated the third President of Brown University, Asa Messer, to whom we have already referred. This was the last Commencement at which Dr. Manning presided.

Sab., Sept., 5. Preached one sermon in Providence, at the Baptist meeting house, from Eccl. 12: 3, and administered the Sacrament of the Supper. Mr. Whelpley preached one part of the day.—Mon., 6. Went to Harvard.—Tues., 7, and Wed., 8. Attended the Association.—Thurs., 9. Went home.

Dr. Stillman was chosen Moderator of this meeting of the Warren Association, and the Rev. Joseph Grafton,

Clerk. Mr. Smith was appointed to write the Circular Letter for the year 1791. The following, which we copy from the minutes, is in pleasing contrast with previous records concerning ecclesiastical oppressions and strife:—

“Dr. Stillman communicated a letter to the Association, which he had received from a committee of the Congregational ministers of Massachusetts, informing him that they had presented a petition to Congress, requesting their attention to the several impressions of the Bible now making, representing the importance of accuracy in these impressions; and earnestly praying that they would take such measures as the Constitution may permit, that no edition of the Bible, or its translation, be published in America, without its being carefully inspected, and certified to be free from error; and requesting the concurrence of the Baptist interest, throughout the United States, in this matter, which is of the highest importance to all denominations of Christians, as they all appeal to the Holy Bible as the standard of truth. Upon due consideration of this matter,

“Voted, That we the members of this Association, feel ourselves under very great obligations to our reverend brethren, for their early attention to the preservation of the purity of the Holy Scriptures.

“Voted, That Dr. Stillman, Mr. Backus, Mr. Smith, Mr. Baldwin, and Mr. Green, be appointed a committee, on behalf of this Association, to prepare and transmit a petition to Congress on this important subject.

“Voted, That this same committee transmit an answer to the letter now before us, assuring those gentlemen, that we heartily concur in the measure proposed, and are equally desirous of cultivating a friendly and Christian intercourse with them, and the whole body of Christians;

believing that such an intercourse between good men of different denominations and sentiments, especially the ministers of the gospel, will have a happy tendency to harmonize them, remove unreasonable prejudices, promote a spirit of love and candor, and thus essentially serve the interests of our holy religion."

Thurs., Sept. 16. Attended the funeral of Jonathan Bradley's wife, of Andover, who died suddenly, aged forty-one, of cramps, as was supposed, in the stomach.—Wed., Nov. 10. Gov. Bowdoin was buried. I walked in procession with the ministers.—Thurs., 11. I assisted in the installation of the Rev. Thos. Baldwin, and gave the charge. Dr. Samuel Stillman preached the sermon, the Rev. Mr. Green gave the right hand of fellowship, and the Rev. Mr. Grafton made the last prayer.—Fri., 12. Went home.

Gov. James Bowdoin, whose funeral Mr. Smith attended, died, Saturday, Nov. 6. He was truly a great and good man, the pride and ornament of the State. Few men were better known to the literati in America or England. A commemorative sermon was preached to the Society in Brattle Street, of which he was a member, by his pastor, the Rev. Peter Thatcher, Sunday, Nov. 14. This sermon was afterwards published. The Rev. Thos. Baldwin, who was installed Nov. 11, as Pastor of the Second Baptist Church, or as it was afterwards called, the "Baldwin Place Church," had been for seven years Pastor of the Baptist Church in Canaan, New Hampshire. He came to be one of the most distinguished and useful ministers in the denomination.

Tues., May 17. Went to Woburn.—Wed., 18. To Boston.—Thurs., 19. Preached in Mr. Baldwin's meeting house, in Boston, from Heb. 10: 29.—Fri., 20. Attended Conference meeting.—Sat., 22. Preached two sermons in Dr. Stillman's pulpit, from Acts 4: 23, and Mark 5: 36. Attended conference in the evening.—Mon., 23. Set out for home.—

Tues., June 7. Preached a sermon at Moses Walsh's in Kingston, N. H., from Isa. 55: 3.—Wed., 8. Attended the New Hampshire Association at Brentwood.—Thurs., 9. Attended the Association and was the moderator of the meeting. We had a most agreeable and solemn time. God's power and presence appeared to the glory of his great name.—Fri., 10. Returned home.

Mr. Smith found upon his return a letter from President Manning dated June 4, informing him of the death of his "good friend Nicholas Brown," and of Mr. Brown's brother-in-law, John Jenckes, whom Manning had baptized during the great revival of 1775.¹ This was the last letter which he received from his beloved classmate. In less than six weeks he himself, in the language of his communication, had taken his "departure." On Lord's Day morning, July 24, while uttering the voice of prayer around the domestic altar, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy, in which he remained, with imperfect consciousness, till the ensuing Friday, when, about four o'clock in the morning, he expired, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. His remains were conveyed the next day to the college chapel, where public services were conducted by the Rev. Dr. Hitchcock, Smith's fellow Chaplain in the army, and now Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Providence. "The funeral," says Prof. Goldard, "though a public one, was no empty pageant. Multi-

¹ A few days later Mr. Smith received the following interesting letter from Mr. Brown's widow, which was accompanied with a mourning ring, intended as a memorial of the friendship that had existed between them:—

"PROVIDENCE, June 7, 1791.

"MY DEAR SIR:—Accept from his widow, a small memorial of the man we both loved. I knew his regard for you, and wished to give you a token of his affection and of mine. This dear and only son, is my best earthly comfort, and he will I trust, one day fill his father's place. Let him have your counsels and prayers. Unite with us also in commending his lovely daughter to the cause he loved. And pray for me that I may fulfill every parental duty to those dear children, and find them rich blessings to my declining age.

Your afflicted friend,

AVIS BROWN.

tudes flocked to the college, to look for the last time upon a face which had so often beamed upon them in kindness; and multitudes followed him to the grave, which was so soon to hide him forever from their sight." In the language of the *Gazette*, it was "the most numerous and respectable ever attended in town." Truly James Manning was a great and good man;—one of the ablest Presidents that has ever presided over the College or Brown University, and the most prominent man in the Baptist Denomination at the time of his decease. It was, as we may well suppose, with saddened memories and a heavy heart, that Mr. Smith set out to attend the Annual Commencement for the present year. His diary reads:—

Wed., Aug. 31. I went to Boston.—Thurs., Sept. 1, 1791. Went to Medfield.—Friday and Saturday in Providence.—Sat., 4. Preached in Mr. Maxcy's pulpit, from Isa. 43: 5. Heard Mr. Foster in the afternoon, then administered the Sacrament of the Supper.—Tues., 6. Met with the Corporation.—Wed., 7. Attended Commencement.

At this Commencement, the Hon. Judge Howell, LL.D., a graduate of Princeton, who had been connected with Rhode Island College from the beginning, as Tutor and Professor, and afterwards as a Fellow of the Corporation, presided. His address to the graduates has been deservedly admired for its excellent counsel, and as a specimen of English undefiled. The closing part, having reference to the recent death of Manning, may appropriately be introduced here:—"The day is at hand when all of us, whether young or old now, must appear and give an account of our conduct before the Creator and Governor of the world. 'That is the day of days, the important day,' as the poet says, 'for which all other days were made.' Time, with all its concerns and enjoyments, will

then vanish from our eager grasp. Eternity will then commence, and a solemn COMMENCEMENT will that be. Your worthy President has gone before you. If you loved him, or if you even love yourselves, let me, in the most earnest and solemn manner, call on you to recollect, and imprint on your memory, his pious care over you, his faithful admonitions, and his amiable example; and to prepare to follow him."

The valedictory address was given by Jonathan Russell, who afterwards became distinguished as a member of Congress, a minister abroad, and one of the Commissioners at Ghent to negotiate and conclude a treaty of peace with Great Britain. His Fourth of July oration, delivered in 1800, has passed through many editions, and furnished declamations for school-boys all over the land. William Hunter, of Newport, gave the salutatory oration. He, too, became distinguished in political life as a Senator in Congress, and afterwards as Minister Plenipotentiary to Brazil. The main feature of the exercises was an "Oration of the death of the Rev. President Manning," by Simeon Doggett, of the Class of 1788, and a candidate for the Master's degree. A single extract may properly find a place in our present narrative:—"His exertions to increase knowledge were almost unparalleled; yet merely to increase knowledge was not his end, but the means, the end of which was to regenerate the heart, and to advance the Redeemer's kingdom. Hence, while engaged to promote learning, he was still more engaged to promote religion. Of this all his pupils are witnesses, who have seen his devotion and enjoyed his instructions. How naturally at our College exercises would a very slight connection lead his discourse to moral and religious subjects! Upon these subjects, with what additional ardor would he discourse!

The occasions seemed to add new life to his faculties. They would add warmth to his heart, brightness to his understanding, and eloquence to his tongue. And still more did his devotion ever show that his heart's desire and constant prayer to God was that true religion might flourish, and of this his pupils are not the only witnesses. All Christian societies within his extensive acquaintance, especially those of this town, are also witnesses. It was this which led him to the study of divinity, and finally made him so eminent in the ministry. It was this which caused him, like the primitive Apostles, to travel through all parts of the country, to instruct, to purify, to organize, and to confirm the Church. Perhaps no one of his age had a greater influence in the Redeemer's kingdom; and his usefulness was parallel with his influence."

Thurs., Sept. 8. Assisted in ordaining Mr. Maxcy.—Fri., 9. Went to Boston.—Sat., 10. To Woburn.—Sab., 11. Preached two sermons there, from *Eze. 33: 11*.—Mon., 12. Went home.—Tues., 13. Attended the Association at New Rowley.—Wed., 14. Attended the Association, and baptized Mrs. Appleton of Ipswich.—Thurs., 15. Went home.

At this meeting of the Warren Association Dr. Stillman, according to previous appointment, preached the introductory sermon, after which Mr. Smith was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. Thos. Baldwin, Clerk. During the sessions Dr. Stillman presented a plan, which, he stated, he had received from a friend, for establishing a charitable fund, "for the purpose of assisting such young men of the Baptist Denomination, as may appear to be suitably qualified for the ministry, with a collegiate education." Who this friend was is nowhere stated, but we have no doubt whatever in regard to the source whence the plan itself originated. Those who have read the

"Life, Times, and Correspondence of James Manning," will see throughout evidences of a similar plan, which he had conceived, for the education of a Baptist ministry. After a second reading, the plan was unanimously adopted by the Association, and a Board of Trustees, consisting of twelve, was eventually chosen. This Board was styled, "Trustees of the Baptist Education Fund." It was required that "so many of the Baptist Fellows of Rhode Island College who are members of churches, shall be trustees of this fund," the remaining number to be chosen by ballot from and by the Warren Association. The Trustees were chosen the year following, and consisted of Isaac Backus, Joseph Grafton, Noah Alden, Thomas Baldwin, Thomas Green, George Robinson, and Isaiah Parker. The Baptist Fellows of the College were, Dr. Stillman, Hezekiah Smith, William Williams, Jonathan Maxey, and Robert Rogers. These constituted the original Board. In 1794, the Society thus commenced was duly incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts. In 1816, a separate organization was formed, which in 1823, was incorporated under the name of "The Baptist Education Society of the Warren Association." At this time, the funds now amounting to \$3,600, were equally divided between this Society and the Boston Association, which had been formed in 1811. Hence the origin and present funds of the "Rhode Island Baptist Education Society." Towards the close of the sessions the "Circular Letter," prepared by previous appointment by Mr. Smith, was read and approved. It contains a tender allusion to the death of "James Manning, D. D., President of Rhode Island College," expressing the hope that "the great head of the Church, in whom are all gifts and graces," would supply the loss and repair the breaches in Zion's walls.

CHAPTER VIII.

Haverhill—Boston—Providence—New Jersey—College—Association—Close.

1791—1805.

Pastoral Work—Church at Newtown, New Hampshire—Commencement in 1792—Nicholas Brown—Jonathan Maxcy—Visit to New York—Death of Deacon Shepard—New Hampshire Association at Northwood—Commencement in 1793—Lottery to aid the College—Meeting of the Warren Association in Attleborough—Sends his son Jonathan to the Academy in Atkinson—Commencement in 1794—Funeral of Rev. John Shaw—Funeral of Rev. Sam'l Fletcher—Commencement in 1795—Meeting of the Warren Association—Installation of Rev. John Peak, at Newtown—Meeting of the New Hampshire Association at Medbury—Commencement in 1796—Tristram Burges—John Brown—Meeting of the Warren Association at Charlton—Method of recording funerals—Owner of stores and dwelling houses—Vice-President of the Haverhill Bridge Corporation—Missionary tour in New Hampshire—Visits his son Hezekiah in Northumberland—Unwell—Commencement in 1797—Receives the degree of Doctor in Divinity—Jonathan Maxcy elected President—Meeting of the Warren Association in Boston—Action in reference to ecclesiastical oppressions—Marriage of his son Jonathan—Commencement in 1798—James Tallmadge—College Lottery—Steeple to house of worship erected—Commencement of 1799—Jeremiah Chapin—Thomas Poynton free—Meeting of the Warren Association in Middleborough—Death of Washington—Services in Haverhill—Meeting of the Warren Association held for the second time in Providence—Baptists in Rhode Island—Sermons at the beginning and close of the year—Commencement in 1801—Lucius Rolles—Meeting of the Warren Association in Sutton—First Baptist Church in Newport—Nicholas Brown with his newly married wife visits Smith at Haverhill—Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society—Artillery Election Sermons—Commencement in 1802—Resignation of Maxcy—Henry Wheaton—Meeting of the Warren Association in Wrentham—Visit to New York and New Jersey—Meeting of the Philadelphia Association at Hopewell—Farewell Discourses—Weakness and indisposition—Commencement in 1803—Moses presides for first time—Resignation of John Brown as Trustee—Action of the Corporation in reference to naming the College—Meeting of the Warren Association—Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine—Dr. Smith attends in pain and bodily weakness his last meeting of the Corporation of Rhode Island College—Professorship of Oratory and Belles Lettres founded by Nicholas Brown—College named Brown University—Asa Meyer, an early pupil of Smith, appointed President—Last meeting of the Warren Association—Catechising and visitations—Last entries in his journal—Last sermons to his people—Death—Funeral—Sketch of Smith by Dr. Baldwin—Extracts from Dr. Stillman's funeral discourse—Tribute to Smith from Dr. Leman Clark—Closing Paragraph.

The death of President Manning served to increase rather than diminish Mr. Smith's zeal in behalf of the College. He continued to attend, with unflinching punctuality, the Commencements, and the annual meetings of the Corporation. As the Senior Fellow of the Board, and the acknowledged personal friend of the Browns, his advice was sought and heeded in all important matters. He also attended the meetings of the Warren and the New Hampshire Associations, usually presiding as Moderator, and preaching during the sessions. In consequence of his improved circumstances, he was now no longer obliged to teach a private school. He was thus enabled to give his exclusive attention to his church and family, to the cultivation of his lands, and the improvement of his property. Occasionally he made missionary or preaching tours in the North, and once in two years he visited his relations and friends in the Jerseys. He preached frequently in the neighboring towns, and in Boston, where his appearance in the pulpit was always hailed with pleasure. At funerals especially his services were in requisition. He delighted to administer the balm of consolation to the afflicted, and in his remarks to the careless and the impenitent he was singularly happy. So the stream of time flowed on with even current down through his advancing years, until it reached the "boundless ocean."

Returning to the diary:—

Fri., Sept. 23, 1791. Preached a funeral sermon at Mr. Perkins' on the account of the death of his mother, from John 11: 25. She was upwards of eighty. Died of Numb Palsy.—Thurs., Nov. 17. Preached a Thanksgiving sermon, from Psalms 117: 1, 2.—Tues., Dec. 6. Attended the funeral of Widow Messer, aged seventy. She died of a fever.—Tues., Dec. 20. Attended the funeral of James Wilson's

daughter in Methuen, age about twenty. Died of a fever.—Wed., 21. Attended the funeral of John Baker, aged sixty-one. Died of consumption.—Thurs., March 29, 1792. Preached two sermons, it being Fast Day, from John 14: 7, 8.—Fri., April 27. Painted and papered the room in Mr. Atwood's part of the house, which he hired.—Sat., 28. Set out for Danvers.—Sabb., 29. Preached three sermons in the Baptist meeting house in Danvers, from Rom. 14: 10, Matt. 22: 8, and Heb. 12: 24. Also examined Widow Sarah Wilson, of Danvers, Sarah Dennis and Sarah Raymond, of Beverley, for baptism.—Mon., 30. Baptized Jonathan Wilson, Widow Sarah Wilson, Sarah Raymond, and Sarah Dennis, in Beverley, near the bridge. Also preached a sermon at Mr. Raymond's, after the baptism, from Rev. 1: 5.—Tues., May 1. Preached a sermon at Marblehead, in the North meeting house, from Matt. 22: 4, and in the evening, from Heb. 12: 1.—Wed., 2. Preached two sermons at Samuel Appleton's, in Ipswich, from Heb. 12: 12.—Thurs., 3. Went home.—Wed., 9. Preached a sermon at Worcester Sanborn's, in Newtown, New Hampshire, from Mark 10: 16. After sermon baptized Anthony Kelly, Betsey Clark, Betsey Sanborn, Abigail Farrington, Sarah Andrus, David Bagley, and Jonathan Sanborn, all of whom were received into our church. Also there were Deacon Francis Chase and his wife Sarah, Andrew Whittier and his wife, Samuel Dow, Worcester Sanborn, and Mary Chase, who had been members of the Baptist Church in Newtown. These were added to our church by their desire.—Fri., 11. Went to Boston.—Sabb., 13. Preached three sermons in Boston, from Rom. 13: 12, Matt. 22: 8, and Heb. 12: 24.—Mon., 14. Preached at a private Society in Boston, from Psalms 42: 1.—Tues., 15. Returned home.

These entries show how particular Mr. Smith was in his daily records. When he baptized he gave the names of the candidates; when he attended funerals he gave the name and age of the deceased, and the cause of their death. In regard to the church at Newtown, Backus states that one was formed there as early as 1755, but that in consequence of difficulties it was dissolved, and many of the members joined the Baptist Church in Haverhill. Hence the expression in the diary, "added to our church." In 1796, a new Baptist Church was formed in Newtown, under the care of the Rev. John Peak.

Fri., Aug. 17, 1792. Went to Boston.—Sab., 19. Preached two sermons in Mr. Baldwin's meeting house, from John 5: 39, and 1 Tim. 4: 8.—Tues., 21. Purchased 250 scrip at 7s. 5d. each, in the Union Bank, and returned home.—Fri., 24. Examined seven persons for baptism, attended church business, preached a preparatory sermon before the Sacrament of the Supper, from John 15: 7, and baptized.—Sab., Sept. 2. Preached two sermons, from Rev. 22: 17, and 2 Pet. 3: 18.—Mon., 3. Set out for Providence. Arrived at Mr. Morse's in Medfield that day.—Tues., 4. Went to Providence. Lodged at my good friend's Nicholas Brown, while there.—Wed., 5. Attended Commencement.—Thurs., 6. Attended with the Corporation, and chose Mr. Maxcy President *pro tempore*.

This Nicholas Brown, with whom Mr. Smith lodged, was the one who graduated in 1786, and from whom the University was eventually named. Soon after his father's death, Nov. 3, 1791, he married Anne, daughter of John and Amy Carter. Three children, who arrived at maturity, were the fruits of this union; viz.: Nicholas, born in 1792; Anne Carter, in 1795; and John Carter, in 1797. Mrs. Brown died, June 16, 1798. In 1801, Mr. Brown married for his second wife Mary Bowen Stelle, daughter of Benjamin and Huldah Stelle. These domestic items are of interest, because Mr. Brown's house continued to be Mr. Smith's home whenever he visited Providence.

The Rev. Jonathan Maxcy, who was elected by the Corporation of the College "President *pro tempore*," was a young man of remarkable talents. At the early age of fifteen he entered the institution as a pupil, graduating, as we have already stated, in 1787, with the highest honors of his class. He was immediately appointed Tutor, which position he held four years. It was during this period that he became the subject of renewing grace under the teachings of his beloved President Manning, by whom he

was baptized. In 1791, he was chosen Pastor of the Baptist Church. It was perhaps owing to his youth that he was not formally elected President until the year 1797. During his brilliant career of ten years, men were educated and sent out into all the professions, who, for learning, skill, and success in life, will not suffer in comparison with the graduates of any other period. "Under his administration," says Elton, "the College acquired a reputation for belles-lettres and eloquence inferior to no seminary of learning in the United States." He died at Columbia, South Carolina, June 4, 1820, in the fifty-third year of his age.

Sab., Sept. 9, 1792. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house, in Providence, from John 5: 29, and 1 Tim. 4: 8.—Mon., 10. Took passage with Capt. Goufreys for New York. Arrived there Thurs., 13.—Fri., 14. Went to Kennewbrook, New Jersey.—Sat., 15. Preached at Uriah Smith's, from Rev. 3: 19.—Sab., 16. Preached two sermons at Kennewbrook, from Matt. 23: 2, and John 5: 29.—Mon., 17. Returned to Paulus Hook to my brother's there.—Wed., 19. Preached a lecture in the Baptist meeting house in New York, from 1 Tim. 4: 8.—Thurs., 20.—Sat., 22. In New York.—Sab., 23. Preached two sermons, from John 5: 39, and Rev. 22: 17.—Mon., 24. Left New York and arrived at Newport with Capt. Bliss, next day. Lodged at Major Martin's that night.—Wed., 26. Went to Providence. Lodged at friend Nicholas Brown's.—Fri., 28. Preached a sermon in the Baptist meeting house, from Matt. 22: 42.—Sab., 30. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house in Providence, from John 15: 17, and Col. 1: 28.—Mon., Oct. 1. Set out for Haverhill.—Thurs., 4. Got home and found our family well.

It would seem, from the expression, "found our family well," that Mrs. Smith accompanied her husband on this journey to Providence and New Jersey. She was cordially invited to do this, and was always a welcome guest at the hospitable mansion of the Browns. They in

turn visited at her beautiful home in Haverhill, as the diary shows. The following brief entry refers to a domestic affliction:—

Thurs., Jan. 3, 1793. Mrs. Smith broke her arm, or had it broken, by a fall out of the sleigh.

The following refers to the "good Deacon Shepard, who discovered such a temper" at Mr. Smith's yielding to what he regarded as duty in regard to leaving his church for a time, to serve his County as a Chaplain in the army. He was one of the original Deacons of the church, and was present with his pastor at the formation of the Warren Association, in 1767:—

Thurs., March 7. Attended Deacon Jonathan Shepard's funeral, who died of consumption, aged sixty-six.

The following refers to the New Hampshire Association, which he aided in organizing, and the annual meetings of which he continued to attend until his death:—

Tues., June 11. Went to Northwood. Attended the New Hampshire Association.—Wed., 12. Preached the Association sermon, from Eph. 3: 19, and was then chosen Moderator. A comfortable time we had. Elder Hooper, Elder Peak, and Elder Shepard, beside myself, preached.—Sab., Aug. 18. Heard Mr. Stephen Gano preach two sermons in my pulpit.

Mr. Gano, or Dr. Gano, as he was commonly called, having practiced as a physician before preaching, had the year previous, as we have already stated, been settled as Pastor of the Baptist Church in Providence.

Mon., Sept. 2. Set out for Providence, and went to Mr. Morse's, in Medfield.—Tues., 3. Went to Providence to Mr. Nicholas Brown's.—

Wed., 4. Attended Commencement.—Thurs., 5. Met with the Corporation.—Sat., 8. Preached a sermon in the Baptist meeting house, from John 8: 21, and one in Mr. Snow's meeting house, from Rom. 8: 35.—Tues., 10. Went to the Association in Attleborough. Served as Moderator till Wednesday evening.—Thurs., 12. Set out for home.

At this meeting of the Corporation, Mr. Thomas Poynton Ives was made a Trustee of the College, in place of the Rev. Gardner Thurston. Thanks were tendered to Col. Tillinghast, his officers and men of the Artillery Company, for their attendance on the Corporation during Commencement day; and to the Committee of Arrangements "for their judicious management in preparing the public dinner." It was also

Voted, "That the Treasurer, together with Messrs. David Howell, Welcome Arnold, Ray Greene, Samuel Elam, and Christopher Fowler, be appointed a committee to apply to the General Assembly of this State, for payment of the debt due to this institution, in such manner as they shall conceive most conducive to the interests of the College."

Voted, "That the same committee, request of the same authority, the grant of a lottery of four thousand dollars, for the purpose of purchasing Dr. Fobes' Orrery and other articles of a Philosophical Apparatus; and for increasing the College library, and for other necessary and useful purposes for promoting the prosperity of the College; and that the directors of said lottery be Messrs. John Brown, Joseph Nightingale, Welcome Arnold, Peleg Clark, and Nicholas Brown."

At the meeting of the Association in Attleborough, the Rev. Thomas Baldwin preached the introductory sermon, and the Rev. President Maxcy read the "Circular Letter." It was voted, as we learn from the minutes, "To desire

the Trustees of the Baptist Education Fund to meet in Boston on the first Tuesday of October next, at 3 o'clock P. M., in order to appoint a Chairman, Treasurer, and Secretary, and to transact any other business that may be thought necessary. The diary accordingly reads:—

Tues., Oct. 1. Went to Boston.—Thurs., 3. Returned home.—Mon., Dec. 16. Went to Concord and redeemed my right of land, which was sold for the taxes.—Sab., Feb. 2, 1794. Asa Messer preached both parts of the day for me.—Thurs., May 15. Simon Ayer dug a French drain before my house, and assisted in filling it with small stones for a foundation for my yard.—Mon., Aug. 11. Jonathan went to tarry at the Academy in Atkinson.

This was Mr. Smith's second son, now a young man of eighteen. The academy to which he was sent, was incorporated, Feb. 17, 1791, and was at this time a flourishing institution. He afterwards married and settled in Haverhill, becoming a merchant and an agriculturist. In 1805, soon after his father's death, he joined the Baptist Church, of which he continued through life to be a prominent member and supporter. The rooms over his place of business were offered gratuitously for the smaller meetings of the church; and references to "Jonathan Smith's chambers" appear repeatedly in the church records. His house was always open for the entertainment of ministers, and hundreds have enjoyed his hospitalities. He had two daughters; one, long since deceased, was the mother of the Hon. Dr. Charles Smith Bradley, late Chief Justice of Rhode Island; the other is the wife of the poet, the Rev. Dr. S. F. Smith, of Newton Centre, Massachusetts. Their golden wedding was celebrated Tuesday, Sept. 16, 1884, when hundreds of relatives and friends from far and near called to pay their respects to

the distinguished couple. Mrs. Smith's father died at their house, Oct. 9, 1843, aged sixty-eight. His remains rest in the family lot at Haverhill.

Mon., Sept. 1, 1794. Set out for Providence, and arrived there on Tuesday.—Wed., 3. Attended the Commencement.—Tues., 4. Met with the Corporation of the College to transact the necessary business thereof.—Sat., 7. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house, in Providence, from Eph. 1: 23, and Jer. 31: 39.—Mon., 8. Preached a lecture in the Baptist meeting house, in Attleborough, from Jer. 31: 39.—Tues., 9. Went to Woburn.—Wed., 10. Went home.

The Warren Association met this year in Templeton, Worcester County. Neither Smith nor Stillman were present. The Circular Letter was read by Backus, who also served as Moderator. At the Commencement for this year, eighteen young men took part in the exercises. The valedictory address was given by the late Samuel W. Brigham, the first Mayor of Providence. At the meeting of the Corporation, the Rev. Thomas Baldwin, of Boston, and the Rev. Stephen Gano, of Providence, were elected Trustees.

Wed., Oct. 1. Attended Mr. Shaw's funeral as a mourner. He died of a lethargy.—Sat., 4. Went to Windham.—Sat., 5. Preached two sermons in the Presbyterian meeting house, in Windham, from Psalms 46: 4, and John 3: 36.—Thurs., Nov. 6. Attended the fast at Mr. Shaw's meeting house, which they had, to be directed in the choice of a minister.

The Rev. John Shaw was Pastor of the First Congregational Church, now Unitarian, in Haverhill. After a ministry of almost eighteen years, he died very suddenly, Sept. 29, 1794, aged forty-eight. The day before his death he preached as usual, and was apparently in good health. His wife was a sister of John Adams.

He was succeeded in the ministry by the Rev. Abiel Abbot, D. D.

Thurs., Oct. 16. Attended the funeral of Deacon Francis Chase's wife. She died of a fall from the horse-block, aged seventy-seven. I preached a sermon from Luke 12: 40.

It seems a remarkable circumstance, that a woman nearly eighty years old should have attempted to mount a horse. It should be remarked that carriages at this early period were not common, and that the usual mode of travel was on horseback.

Sat., Nov. 15. Had three loads of wood hauled from my wood lot gratis.—Feb. 6, 1795. My daughter Rebecca had a relapse, and was very violently seized with fits.—Sab., 15. Mr. Messer preached two sermons, and I was confined with my sick daughter.—Thurs., Feb. 19. Preached a Continental thanksgiving sermon, from Matt. 12: 25. Thurs., March 26. Attended the funeral of the Rev. Samuel Fletcher, aged forty-seven years, seven months. Died of consumption. I preached his funeral sermon from Isa. 12: 1.

Mr. Fletcher was Pastor of the Baptist Church in Salem, New Hampshire, having been ordained there Dec. 6, 1781. He had previously preached at Chelmsford. He was born in the County of Middlesex, Massachusetts, in August, 1747. He was a faithful preacher and much beloved by his people. At his funeral, which was largely attended, "his body was carried," says Backus, "to the Congregational meeting house in Salem, and several Congregational ministers, with others of his own denomination, were pall bearers.

Sat., May 16. Finished laying bricks under my store that is to be and began to lay them under the end of my dwelling house.—Fri. June 12. Went to Newburyport, and exchanged with Mr. Milton the

Lord's Day following.—**Sab., 14.**—Preached three sermons in Mr. Milton's pulpit, from Rom. 3: 19-22, and John 5: 21.—**Sat., July 18.** Preached Isaac Davis' funeral sermon, from 2 Pet. 3: 10.—**Mon., Aug. 31.** Went to Mr. Giles' in Attleborough. Preached that evening from Titus 3: 8.—**Tues., Sept. 1.** Went to Mr. Brown's in Providence. Attended to the business of the Corporation and Commencement till Thursday evening.—**Fri., 4, and Sat., 5.** In Providence.—**Sab., 6.** Preached two sermons, in the forenoon in Mr. Snow's meeting house, from Matt. 12: 32, and in the afternoon in Mr. Gano's meeting house, from Titus 3: 8.—**Mon., 7.** Went to Mr. Leonard's in Bridgewater.—**Tues., 8.** Went to Mr. Robinson's, in whose meeting house we held the Association, on the 8th, and the 9th.—**Wed., 9.** In the evening I preached at Deacon Perkins', from John 5: 25.—**Thurs., 10.** Went to Col. Dana's in Little Cambridge.—**Fri., 11.** Went home.

At this meeting of the Corporation, the Rev. Charles Thompson, the Valedictorian of the first graduating class of the College, was elected a Trustee. At the meeting of the Warren Association Dr. Stillman served as Moderator, the Rev. Thos. Baldwin as Clerk, and the Rev. Stephen Gano read the "Circular Letter." Col. Stephen Dana was chosen a Trustee of the Baptist Education Fund.

Thurs., Oct. 1. Gathered my winter apples.—**Mon., Nov. 23.** Set out for Lee, in Northampton.—**Tues., 24.** Got to Richard Martin's in Lee.—**Wed., 25.** Preached an ordination sermon, from 2 Tim. 1: 7, then assisted with Dr. Shepard, Mr. Pillsbury, Mr. Hooper, and Mr. Elias Smith, in ordaining Mr. Richard Martin, of Lee.—**Feby., 17, 1796.** Met with the Council at Newtown, New Hampshire, and constituted a Baptist Church there. Installed Mr. John Peak over them.

Elder Peak, as he was called, was Pastor in Newburyport, for many years, and in New Hampshire and Vermont. The latter part of his life he spent in Boston, where, as a member of the Baldwin Place Baptist Church, he gained warm personal friends, and made himself very useful. He lived to an advanced age.

Wed., May 25. Went to Boston.—Thurs., 26. Met with the Committee of the Baptist Education Fund. Lodged both nights with Mr. Shekl.—Mon., June 6. Attended the Proprietor's meeting of the Library, Bridge, and Township of Penobscot, No. 2. The meeting is adjourned to the 1st Monday in November.

The Bridge here referred to, was probably the Haverhill Bridge across the Merrimack, which was completed in 1794. It was erected on three arches of one hundred and eighty feet each, and was considered a marvel of mechanical ingenuity and skill.

Tues., June 7. Went to Malbury, New Hampshire, and attended the Association on Wednesday and Thursday. Preached one sermon there, from John 4: 36.—Sabb., June 24. Timothy Smith was married to Betsey Clark at my house by Esquire James Duncan. I performed the whole service, except declaring them married to each other.—Mon., Sept. 5. Upon the road to Providence.—Tues., 6. Went to Providence and put up at my good friend's Nicholas Brown.—Wed., 7. Attended Commencement.—Thurs., 8. Met with the Corporation, to transact the business of the College.—Sabb., 11. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house, in Providence.—Wed., 14. Left Providence and went to Cumberland, where I attended the dedication of a new meeting house. I made the first prayer. President Maxcy preached the sermon, and Mr. Pitman made the last prayer. After this I went to Mr. Avery's in Wrentham.—Tues., 15. Went to Boston.—Thurs., 16. Went home.

At this Commencement Tristram Burges, the orator from Rhode Island, who, in the halls of Congress, afterwards proved more than a match for John Randolph of Virginia, took his Bachelor's degree. His valedictory oration was justly regarded, at the time of its delivery, as a remarkable production. The paragraph beginning, "Guided by reason, man has traveled through the abstruse regions of the philosophic world;" and that succeeding it, "By imagination man seems to verge towards

creative power," have been selected as exercises for declamation, in various schools and colleges throughout the land. It was published in a pamphlet form, and afterwards, in part, in Bowen's "Memoir of Tristram Burges."

At the meeting of the Corporation, John Brown, the hero of the "Gaspee," who had been treasurer of the College since 1775, resigned the office, and his nephew, Nicholas Brown, was appointed in his place. The following appears upon the records:—"Whereas, The Corporation conceive it expedient to institute in this Seminary a Professor of the Learned Languages, be it therefore enacted, That Mr. Asa Messer be and he is hereby appointed to this office. Voted, That the salary of Professor Messer be three hundred and fifty-seven dollars per annum, with the addition of forty-three dollars for his services as Librarian." We also find recorded a vote of thanks to the Rev. Isaac Backus for "his present to the College library of the third volume of his 'Church History of New England.'"

The Warren Association met this year at Charlton, in Worcester County. Neither Smith nor Stillman were present. The sermon at the dedication in Cumberland to which the diary refers, was regarded as one of President Maxcy's best efforts. It is published in a volume entitled, "The Literary Remains of the Rev. Jonathan Maxcy, D. D., with a memoir of his life." By Romeo Elton, D. D.

Mon., Oct. 17. Attended the funeral of Nathaniel Messer. He died of the dropsy, aged sixty.—Wed., 19. Attended the funeral of Josiah Brown. He died of a putrid fever, aged sixty. Preached a funeral sermon from 2 Sam. 12: 23.—Wed., Jan. 11, 1797. Attended the funeral of Mrs. Carlton's mother, aged eighty-seven. She died of old age. Wed., Feb. 8. Preached the Rev. Moses Chase's funeral in the Con-

gregational meeting house in Amesbury, where the corpse was carried, from 2 Tim. 4: 7, 8.—Sat., 19. Preached two sermons, in Salisbury, from John 15: 7, and Ps. 23: 2; it being the second Lord's Day after the death of Elder Moses Chase.—Sat., 25. Attended the funeral of Moses Hoyt's child, aged one and a half years. Died of the quinsy.

These entries indicate Mr. Smith's method of recording the funerals which he attended. His services on such occasions seem to have been in request, and were solicited outside of his own immediate parish.

Tues., May 23. Mr. Kendall took possession of my store, for which he is to give me forty dollars per year.

This is probably the store to which he alludes in his diary, under date May 16, 1795:—"Finished laying bricks under my store which is to be." On the 1st of Oct., 1789, he refers to a store which he bought opposite to his dwelling. Besides these two stores, he was the owner of five dwelling-houses, four of which he rented, and the one which he occupied, and which is now standing, although removed from its original location. In a list of the householders in Haverhill in 1798, published in Chase's history, the names of the owners of houses are given, and the names of occupants, together with the valuation in dollars. Mr. Smith, as appears from this list, was one of the wealthy men of the town.

Mon., June 5. Attended the meeting of the Proprietors of Haverhill Bridge, when they chose me Vice President.

In addition to his stores, dwelling-houses, and land, he owned shares in the Corporation of which he was thus made Vice-President. Notwithstanding his wealth and comfortable circumstances, he retained his interest in the church, and loved the work of preaching the blessed

gospel. We find now the record of another missionary tour to New Hampshire and Vermont, during which he was absent from home one month:—

Tues., June 6. Set out for Upper Coos. Lodged that night at Amos Wood's in Weare.—Wed., 7. Got to Elias Smith's in N. Salisbury. Preached a lecture that evening in his meeting house, from 1 Pet. 4: 5.—Thurs., 8. Went to Canaan. Lodged there.—Fri., 9. Went to John Emery's in Oxford. Lodged there.—Sat., 10. Went to Col. Hutchins, in Haverhill, where I lodged.—Sab., 11. Preached two sermons in Ethan Smith's meeting house, in Haverhill, from 1 Pet. 4: 4, 5, and one in the Academy, in Haverhill, from Rom. 7: 9.—Mon., 12. Being accompanied by Col. Hutchins, we went to Mr. Fry's in N. Concord. Lodged there.—Tues., 13. Went to Mr. Blake's in Lancaster. Lodged there. Went to my son's in Northumberland. Tarried there till the Monday following.—Sab., 18. Preached two sermons, from Matt. 22: 42, and Eccl. 12: 13, 14, in Maidstone, Upper Coos.—Mon., 19. Preached a sermon at Mr. Williams', in Littleton, from Heb. 12: 25.—Tues., 20. Went to Esquire Hutchins' in Bath, where I preached the next day, from Rom. 3: 19. After sermon went to Capt. Kimball's, and preached there the next day, from Eccl. 8: 12, 13.—Fri., 23. Left Capt. Kimball's and went to Major Merrill's, in Haverhill. Lodged there.—Sat., 24. Went to Col. Hutchins'. Tarried there till Monday.—Sab., 25. Preached two sermons in Bradford, Vermont, in Mr. Kollock's meeting house, from Isa. 9: 6, and John 6: 25, and at half past five o'clock in the Academy in Haverhill, from John 5: 29.—Mon., 28. Preached at John Emery's, in Oxford, from Rom. 3: 19.—Tues., 27. At Samuel Kezar's in Wentworth, from Eccl. 12: 13, 14.—Wed., 28. At Plymouth meeting house, from Heb. 12: 25.—Thurs., 29. Went to Mrs. Kimball's in Hopkinton. Lodged there.—Fri., 30. Preached in the Baptist meeting house in town, from Isa. 9: 6.—Sat., July 1. Preached at Israel Straw's, in Weare, from Matt. 24: 44.—Sab., 2. Preached two sermons in the North meeting house, in Weare, from Zech. 12: 10, and Rom. 7: 9.—Mon., 3. Returned home. Found my family in usual health. I was blessed in my journey with health, composure of mind, liberty of soul in preaching, and a sense of the great goodness of the Lord in his protecting providence. I trust my labors in the gospel will not be lost.

The good missionary appears to have been in an

unusually happy frame of mind, during this tour, and to have enjoyed his pulpit services, having had, as he expresses it, "liberty of soul." It will be observed that he spent several days with his son, Hezekiah, who was at that time living on a farm in Northumberland, Coos County.

Sat., July 22. Unwell through the week. Was bled three times.

The practitioners of medicine at the present day will not perhaps wonder that he was unwell, under such severe treatment.

Sat., Sept. 2, 1797. Went to Mr. Winn's in Woburn.—Sat., 3. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house, in Woburn, from Gal. 2: 20, and Col. 3: 4.—Mon., 4. Went to Boston.—Tues., 5. Went to Providence, and put up at Widow Brown's.—Wed., 6. Attended Commencement, and had the honor of D. D. conferred upon me.—Thur., 7. Attended the Corporation meeting.

Considering the signal services which Dr. Smith had rendered the College, and in behalf of learning and religion in general, it is a matter of surprise that the degree of Doctor in Divinity was so long delayed. He had certainly deserved it years before. It should be observed, however, that the higher honorary degrees were not conferred so generally in his day, as at the present time. In this connection it may be stated, that Dr. Smith had rendered important service in the cause of education in Haverhill. Aside from the private school to which we have several times referred, and which he taught for many years, he, like his lamented friend Manning, was Chairman of the School Committee, making the first written report ever presented to the town. At this Commencement, Calvin Park, for twenty-one years a

Professor in the University, was graduated. His son, the distinguished Edwards A. Park, of Andover, was graduated in the Class of 1826.

At this meeting of the Corporation, it was voted, "That the Rev. Jonathan Maxcy be and he is hereby elected President of this College," with a salary of six hundred dollars, together with the use of the College house and land. The "Widow Brown," with whom Dr. Smith "put up" during this visit to Providence, was Avis, daughter of Capt. Barnabas Binney, of Boston, and sister of Barnabas Binney who was graduated in 1774. She was a woman of superior worth, and was well versed in books and useful learning. She was married to Nicholas Brown on the 9th of September, 1785, being his second wife.

Fri., Sept. 8. Went to Mr. Morse's, in Medfield.—Sat., 9. Went to Col. Dana's, in Little Cambridge.—Sabb., 10. Preached two sermons, from Rom. 7: 9, and Col. 3: 4, in Newton.—Mon., 11. Went to Dr. Stillman's, in Boston.—Tues., 12. Attended the Association.—Wed., 13. Attended the Association.—Thurs., 14. Went to Capt. Ford's, in Wilmington.—Fri., 15. Went home.

The annual meetings of the Warren Association were held this year, for the first time, in Boston. The occasion was one of unusual interest. The Rev. President Maxcy delivered the introductory sermon, after which Dr. Smith was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. Thomas Baldwin, Clerk. The subject of grievances was still prominent, as we learn from the printed minutes. One extract is as follows:—"Chose Dr. Stillman, Dr. Smith, Isaac Backus, Thos. Baldwin, and Joseph Grafton, a committee, to whom any persons taxed to religious teachers of other denominations whom they do not choose to hear, may apply for advice.

"Whereas, The Baptist Church and Society in the South Parish of Harwich, have been taxed for several years past to the support of the Congregational minister, to the amount of several hundred dollars, and very considerable sums of it have been actually distrained from them; and in attempting to recover it by law, they have expended near five hundred dollars more;—It is therefore earnestly recommended to the several churches, to have a contribution for the said Society, in order to assist them in supporting their just rights, and that the money be brought forward to the next Association.

"Voted, To have a committee of seven to petition the General Court of this Commonwealth, if they should think proper, to have an act passed to exempt the Baptists from being taxed to religious teachers of other denominations."

Dr. Stillman, Dr. Smith, the Rev. Thos. Baldwin, the Rev. Joseph Grafton, Col. Dana, the Rev. William Williams, and the Rev. Joel Briggs were chosen this committee. In reference to the church in Harwich, Backus in his history gives facts and details. Six Baptists were seized on the 1st of Dec., 1795, and carried as far as Yarmouth, when one of them, being old and infirm, paid the tax to Mr. Nathan Underwood, the Congregationalist minister, together with the costs. The remaining five men were carried to Barnstable, where they also paid the tax rather than to remain all winter in a cold prison. It was to remedy such acts of oppression, and to protect the churches, that the Warren Association was formed..

Thurs, Oct. 19, 1797. Attended the marriage of my son Jonathan K. Smith.—Sat, 22. Preached two sermons in Mr. Bodily's meeting house, in Newburyport, from Luke 16: 29, and Isa. 11: 12.

Dr. Smith's son, as has already been stated, married Judith Thurlow, of West Newbury. She died Nov. 2, 1810, at the early age of thirty-six. She, with her husband, were converted through the sermons preached at the final appearance of Dr. Smith in the pulpit at Haverhill. They both were baptized and added to the church. An obituary notice of her, extending over two pages, appears in the second volume of the "Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine."

Thurs., Nov. 30. Preached a Thanksgiving sermon, from Ps. 135: 3. —Mon., Jan. 1, 1798. Preached a sermon at Jonathan Kimball's in Bradford, from John 1: 12.—Mon., 8. Preached a funeral sermon from 1's. 30: 3, for Widow Petty, aged ninety-two. She died of a cancer, at Reuben Kimball's, in Salem, New Hampshire.—Tues., Feb. 27. Preached a lecture at Richard Kimball's, in Bradford, from 1 Pet. 4: 7.—Fri., May 18. Preparatory Lecture. Mr. Lovel preached it, after which I baptized seven persons who were examined in the forenoon.—Sabb., 27. Preached two sermons in Mr. Baldwin's meeting house, in Boston, from John 8: 12, and Isa. 1: 18. Attended and spoke at a private meeting in the evening.—Tues., 29. Attended and spoke at another private meeting.—Wed., 30. In the evening preached Dr. Stillman's Lecture, from Isa. 51: 8.—Thurs., 31. Met the Committee of the Baptist Education Fund.—Fri., Aug. 31. Set out for Providence. Lodged at Woburn, and preached a lecture, from Mark 16: 16, after which the Rev. Elias Smith baptized two persons.—Sat., Sept. 1. Went to Col. Dana's, at Little Cambridge.—Sabb., 2. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house, in Newton, from Isa. 1: 18. —Mon., 3. Went to Providence, and put up at Widow Brown's.—Tues., 4. Met with the Corporation of the College.—Wed., 5. Attended Commencement.—Thurs., 6. Met again with the Corporation.

At this Commencement, James Tallmadge was graduated. He was a relative of Dr. Gano. He became a member of Congress, and was elected Lieut. Governor of the State of New York. At the meeting of the Corporation it was voted, "That the College Lottery shall com-

mence drawing the second Wednesday of October next, and continue until the same be completed; and that on the said first day of drawing one half of the unsold tickets, in case they should not exceed one thousand, shall be deposited in the hands of the Chancellor, or such other person or persons as the Committee may think proper, to be retained or disposed of in whole or in part, as the Committee shall consider most conducive to the interests of the Seminary, and what shall remain unsold above one thousand, shall be insured by the committee, on the best terms they can, on account of the Corporation."

Mon., Nov. 5. Attended the funeral of Thos. Osgood and wife. Both died of a fever. He was seventy-seven and she seventy-nine.—Wed., Nov. 14. Assisted in the installment of Elder Elias Smith. Dr. Stillman preached the sermon, I gave the charge, Mr. Baldwin gave the right hand of fellowship, and Mr. Grafton made the concluding prayer.—Thurs., April 25, 1799. It being Continental fast, preached two sermons, from Heb. 12: 14.—Wed., May 15. The steeple of the Baptist meeting house was raised.

The house was built at first without a steeple. In 1799, as we find stated in the historical notes appended to Dr. Train's Centennial Discourse, "a tower and spire were erected at the east end of the building, and the beautiful bell, presented by Samuel White, Esquire, for the first time summoned the worshipers to their place of prayer."

Fri., May 24, 1799. Went to Dr. Stillman's in Boston.—Sab., 26. Preached two sermons in Dr. Stillman's meeting house, from Heb. 12: 14, and Luke 21: 51, and in the evening from Rom. 8: 28.—Wed., 29. Preached Dr. Stillman's Lecture, from Rom. 8: 3.—Thurs., 30. Went to Beverly and preached there, from Heb. 12: 14.—Fri., 31. Went to Samuel Appleton's in Ipswich, and preached, from Rom. 8: 3.—Sab., June 2. Preached three sermons in New Rowley, from Heb. 12: 14.

Luke 24: 51, and Rom. 8: 3.—Mon., 3. Went home.—Fri., Aug. 16. Our preparatory before the Sacrament. I was so unwell as not to attend with the church.—Sab., 18. Though unwell I preached two sermons, from John 14: 15 and John 3: 36, after which I administered the Sacrament of the Supper. Previous to this I received Mrs. Smiley, Mrs. Rogers, and Mr. Adams into the Church.—Fri., Aug. 30. Went to Boston.—Sat., 31. Went to Newton.—Sab., Sept. 1. Preached two sermons in Mr. Grafton's meeting house, from John 3: 11 and 36.—Mon., 2. Preached a sermon at Mr. Giles, in Wrentham, from John 3: 11.—Tues., 3. Went to Providence, and put up at Mr. Ives'.—Wed., 4. Attended the Commencement.—Thurs., 5. Met with the Corporation.

At this Commencement, Jeremiah Chaplin, afterwards President of Waterville College, gave the Valedictory address. He was at once appointed Tutor. The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon the Hon. James Sullivan of Boston, the Hon. Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, and Oliver Walcott, Secretary of the Treasury. At the meeting of the Corporation the Rev. Isaac Backus resigned his position as a Trustee, on account of age and increasing infirmities, and Mr. John Pitman was elected in his place. The salary of President Maxey was increased from six hundred to nine hundred dollars, and the salary of Professor Messer was made five hundred and twenty dollars. The price of board in Commons was fixed at one dollar and sixty-six and two-third cents per week.

Mr. Thomas Poynton Ives, with whom Dr. Smith "put up," was a Trustee of the College, having been elected in 1793. He was a native of Beverly, Massachusetts, having been born on April 9, 1769. His parents died when he was a child, and he was placed under the care of relatives in Boston. At the early age of thirteen, through the recommendation of Dr. Stillman, he obtained a situation as clerk in the counting-room of Nicholas

Brown, Senior. Here he showed a remarkable capacity for business, so that he was intrusted with the discharge of important duties. In 1792, soon after the death of his employer, he married his only surviving daughter, Hope, and entered into partnership with her brother Nicholas, under the title of "Brown & Ives." The name of the firm is continued to the present day. Three children, the fruits of this marriage, arrived to maturity, viz: the late Mrs. Charlotte R. Goddard, Moses B., and Robert H. Ives. Mr. Ives died, April 30, 1835. A fine portrait of him graces the gallery in Rhode Island Hall.

Sat., Sept. 7. Went to Mr. Nelson's, in Middleborough.—Sab., 8. Preached two sermons in the new Baptist meeting house in that place, from John 3: 11 and 36.—Tues., 10. Attended the Association in Middleborough.—Wed., 11. Attended it until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, when we finished our work, and I set out for home. Lodged at Solomon Eames' in Bridgewater.—Thurs., 12. Went to Boston.—Fri., 13. Went home.

At this meeting of the Warren Association the Rev. Joseph Grafton preached the introductory sermon, after which Dr. Smith was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. Thos. Baldwin, Clerk. Immediately after the adjournment, Mr. Baldwin delivered a sermon from Ps. 132: 15, 16.

Mon., Oct. 21. Went to Exeter, New Hampshire. Preached in the Upper meeting house there, from John 3: 36.—Tues., 22. Went to Stratham. Preached in Mr. Miltimore's meeting house, from Heb. 12: 25.—Wed., 23. Preached in the Baptist meeting house, in Stratham, from Isa. 55: 1. In the evening at the Upper meeting house, in Exeter, from Isa. 1: 18.—Thurs., 24. Went home.—Wed., 30. Went to Boston. Thurs., 31. Preached Mr. Baldwin's Lecture in his meeting house from Rev. 1: 5.—Fri., Nov. 1. Went home.—Sab., 10. Preached two sermons in Newtown meeting house, in New Hampshire, from John 8: 14 and 35, and in the evening at Mr. Bagley's, from John

3: 36.—Feb., 17. Preached two sermons from Sol. Song 1: 12, and 1 Cor. 11: 27, received Hannah Emerson into the Church, and administered the Lord's Supper. Then attended the funeral of John White, aged fifty-nine. He died of consumption.—Thurs., 28. Preached a thanksgiving sermon, from Mark 3: 24.—Wed., Jan. 15, 1800. Nat. Gale was buried.—Thurs., 16. Capt. Porter, who hung himself, was buried.—Fri., 17. I attended the funeral of John Wilson, who died, as was supposed, of worms, aged sixty-five.—Wed., Feb. 19. Master White died.—Sat., 22. Attended to the recommendation of the Congress of the United States to commemorate the death of General Washington. Mr. Merrill made the first prayer, Mr. Abbot delivered an eulogy, and I made the last prayer. Then concluded with singing. After that I attended the funeral of Master John White, aged seventy-three. Died of numb palsy.

This eulogy on the life and character of George Washington, "delivered before the inhabitants of the town of Haverhill, at the request of their committee, by the Rev. Abiel Abbot," was afterwards printed at the expense of the town, together with Washington's farewell address, and a copy was presented to each family. A copy is in the invaluable collection of "Discourses on Washington," preserved in the Library of Brown University. Among the Smith papers is a copy of the programme of exercises on this interesting occasion, a large folio sheet, similar in style to the early programmes of the College Commencements.

Mon., March 31, 1800. Examined the Library.—April 1. Attended the quarterly prayer meeting, and also the annual Library meeting.—Tues., May 27. Went to Boston.—Wed., 28. Attended Election and the business of the Baptist Education Fund.—Tues., June 10. Preached the Association sermon at Brintwood, from Isa. 40: 11. Acted as Moderator during the Association.—Thurs., 12. At 12 o'clock got through with the business of the Association.—Wed., 18. Sowed my last carrot seed.—Sat., Aug. 30. Set out for Woburn. Preached there the next day from Phil. 1: 23 and Phil. 2: 9.—Mon., Sept. 1. Went to Attleborough.—Tues., 2. Went to Providence.—Wed., 3. Attended the

Commencement.—Thurs., 4. Attended the Corporation meeting.—Fri., 5. Visited my friends.—Sat., 6. Went to Greenwich.—Sab., 7. Preached a sermon in Greenwich meeting house, from Heb. 12: 25.—Mon., 8. Returned to Providence.—Tues., 9, Wed. 10. Attended the Association in Providence.—Thurs., 11, Fri. 12. Journeyed homewards and arrived at my house on Saturday 13.

In looking over the minutes of the Warren Association, the annual meeting of which was now for the second time held in Providence, we are struck by the fact that no church in Rhode Island, outside of the city, was represented upon this occasion, not even Warren, where the Association originated. It may perhaps be stated, in explanation, that previous to Manning's time, the Baptist Churches throughout the State were generally Six Principle, and Sabbatarian, or Seventh Day, and that some of them were opposed to a paid ministry, and to singing in public worship. They would naturally, therefore, hesitate before joining an organization formed after the Philadelphia plan. Moreover, enjoying perfect religious freedom, they could hardly realize the trials of their sister Churches in the neighboring States, and hence would naturally be disinclined to combine with them in efforts to resist acts of oppression. Eventually the churches in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont formed separate associations, and the Warren Association consisted wholly of churches in Rhode Island. To-day there are three associations in the State, viz: the Warren, Providence, and Narraganset, comprising sixty-four churches, with a total membership of eleven thousand one hundred and eleven.

At this meeting the Rev. Elias Smith preached agreeably to appointment, the introductory sermon, after which Dr. Smith was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. Thos.

Baldwin, Clerk. Neither Backus nor Dr. Stillman were present. The former, by reason of his age and infirmities, requested permission to resign his seat as trustee of the Education Fund. The treasurer of this Society presented his account, by which it appeared that \$309.60 had been contributed during the year by the churches in Boston, the Church in Haverhill, and the Church in Providence. Dr. Smith presented to the treasurer a bill of one hundred dollars, stating that it was from a gentleman whose name he was not at liberty to mention. Whereupon it was voted, "That Dr. Smith be desired to present the thanks of the Association to their unknown friend, for his generous donation to their infant institution, and assure him of their best wishes that their Heavenly Father who seeth in secret would reward him openly." The following appears upon the minutes:—"We are sorry to learn that the Baptist Church and Society in Patridgefield, under the care of the Rev. Ebenezer Smith, have been and still are greatly oppressed by being taxed, to a large amount, towards building a Congregational meeting house in that place. Upon the representation of the above, it was motioned and voted, to have a contribution to assist our brethren in an action commenced for the recovery of their property: Collected for the purpose \$23.83. Delivered the same to the Pastor, Mr. Smith."

Sab., Oct. 5. Preached two sermons from Eph. 2: 19, and Prov. 28: 26. Between the sermons I examined and baptized Elisha Carlton's wife of Methuen, Widow Wilson of Methuen, and Dille Dow of Plaistow.—Tues., 7. Went to Exeter and joined in council with the New Rowley and Newtown churches, to counsel and advise several baptized persons, who had never joined a church. The Council advised them to form themselves into a distinct church, which they did. There were five male members and five females. After they had been constituted into a church, they chose Mr. Lefard for their deacon.

Previous to their being constituted a church I preached a sermon in the Upper meeting house, from Eph. 2: 19.—Wed., 8. Returned home.—Thurs., 9. Attended the funeral of Gideon Tyler, aged eighty-seven, father-in-law to my wife. I made a speech, previous to prayer offered by Mr. Eaton.—Fri., 10. Went home.—Sat., Nov. 2. So unwell I did not preach.—Thurs., 27. Preached a Thanksgiving sermon, from Esther 8: 17, after which I married Jeremiah Dow to Martha Nichols.—Sat., 29. Went to Newburyport, and exchanged pulpits with Mr. Bodily. Preached three sermons in his pulpit, from Luke 23: 42, Eph. 2: 8, and 19.—Wed., Dec. 3. Attended the funeral of Capt. William Greenleaf, aged seventy-five. He died of a stroke of paralysis.—Tues., 9. Went to Samuel Appleton's, in Ipswich.—Wed., 10. Went to Amos Sawyer's, in Beverly. I delivered a short discourse at the water side previous to Mr. Young's baptizing two men, and in the evening preached a sermon in their vestry or meeting house, from Eph. 2: 19.—Thurs., 11. Left Rebecca, my daughter, at Capt. Landers, at Salem, and returned home.—Fri., 12. A great storm of rain.—Sat., Dec. 28. Preached two sermons from John 19: 30, "It is finished."—Sat., Jan. 4, 1801. Preached two sermons, from Isa. 46: 10. "Declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times the things that are not yet done."

Few men were so apt as Dr. Smith in the selection of appropriate texts for special occasions. The foregoing extract from his diary affords a happy illustration of this gift. The sermons which he was wont to preach at the beginning and close of a year were long remembered by his people.

Thurs., March 19, 1801. It being Provincial Fast, preached two sermons from Heb. 6: 7, 8.—Fri., May 15. Preparatory before the Sacrament. Asa Messer preached the Lecture.—Mon., 25. Went to Roxford.—Tues., 26. Went to Boston.—Wed., 27. Attended Election.—Fri., 29. Preached Mr. Grafton's Lecture, in Newton, from Rom. 1: 16.—Sat., 31. Preached two sermons in Mr. Grafton's meeting house, in Newton, from John 8: 36, and Solomon's Song, 5: 2, and then administered the Lord's Supper.—Mon., June 1. Went to Boston and attended the Artillery Election.—Tues., 2. Went to Charlestown and lodged at Mr. Harrison's.—Wed., 3. Went home.—Sat., June 6. Had considerable

frost which did some damage.—Wed., June 10. Wrote Mr. Duncan's will, and the day before attended Mrs. Cordwell's funeral, aged thirty-eight. Died of the consumption.—Tues., July 14. My wife went to Newburyport after my daughter Rebecca.—Fri., 17. Mr. Creasy began to lay the floor in the front room.—Mon., Aug. 24. Attended the funeral of Samuel White, Esquire.—Fri., 28. Went to Boston. Lodged at Mr. Baldwin's.—Sat., 29. Went to Mr. Harrison's, in Charlestown. Tarried there till Monday.—Sat., 30. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house, in Charlestown, from Matt. 10: 38, and Titus 3: 5.—Mon., 31. Went to Attleborough and preached, from Titus 3: 5, at Mr. Giles'.—Tues., Sept. 1. Went to Providence and attended to the business of the Corporation and Commencement. Preached two sermons on the Lord's Day, from Matt. 10: 38, and Titus 3: 5.—Mon., 7. Went to Uxbridge. Lodged at Col. Daniel Tillinghast's.—Tues., 8. Went to Sutton. Preached in the evening, from Eph. 2: 8.—Wed., 9. Attended the Association and finished its business Wednesday. Then went to Mr. James Wilson's, in Worcester.—Thurs., 10. Went to Capt. Nixon's, in Waltham.—Fri., 11. Went to Haverhill through Boston.

At this Commencement Lucius Bolles, for twenty-two years Pastor of the First Baptist Church in Salem, gave an oration on "Religious Establishments." After graduating, he pursued his theological studies three years with Dr. Stillman, and was ordained in Salem, Jan. 9, 1805. Dr. Smith attended the ordination, and gave the charge. The valedictory address was given by John M. Williams, who, in 1845, received the degree of LL.D., from Harvard College. The name of Nicholas Brown does not appear in the records of the meeting of the Corporation. He had married a few weeks previous his second wife, and he was probably absent on a wedding tour.

At the meeting of the Warren Association, which was held in Sutton, the Rev. Stephen Gano preached the introductory sermon, after which Dr. Smith was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. Thos. Baldwin, Clerk. Neither Stillman nor Backus were present. At this meeting the

Church in Newport, the Rev. Gardner Thurston, pastor, was received into the Association. "Voted, and chose Dr. Smith, Dr. Stillman, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Grafton, and Mr. Briggs a Committee to whom persons taxed to other denominations may apply for advice." The Circular Letter for this year was prepared by Professor, afterwards President, Messer.

Mon., Oct. 19. Mr. Brown, of Providence, set out with his wife and my daughter Rebecca for Portland. He came to my house, Tuesday, October 6th.

Mr. Brown, of Providence, who thus spent a fortnight beneath Dr. Smith's hospitable roof, was his "good friend Nicholas Brown." His first wife, whose maiden name was Anne Carter, died June 16, 1798, leaving three children, viz., Nicholas, Anne Carter, and John Carter. On the 22d of July, 1801, he married for his second wife Mary Bowen Stelle, daughter of Benjamin Stelle. Mr. Stelle was a son of Rev. Isaac Stelle, of Piscataway, New Jersey. In 1766, he was graduated from the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, and soon afterwards, as we learn from Manning's correspondence, he came to Providence and established a Latin school. Their wedding tour was probably through the Middle States, where Mrs. Brown's relatives lived. They returned, it appears, by way of Boston and Haverhill, visiting perhaps Beverly, the early home of Mr. Brown's brother-in-law and partner in business, Thos. P. Ives.

Mon., Feb. 22, 1802. Very driving snow.—Tues., 23. Very windy.—Wed., 24. Snowy.—Fri., 26. Snow. The roads all blocked up with a heavy snow.—Wed., March 24. Attended the funeral of Joseph Bradley, in Andover, aged fifty-eight. He died of a nervous fever.—Fri., April 23. Went to Boston.—Sat., 24. In Boston.—Sab., 25.

Preached two sermons in Mr. Baldwin's meeting house, in Boston, from Mal. 2: 10, and 1 Pet. 3: 13.—Mon., 26. Returned to Haverhill.—Fri., May 21. Set out for Charlestown.—Sab., 23. Preached two sermons in the Charlestown Baptist meeting house, from Matt. 14: 27-29.—Mon., 24, Tues., 25. In Boston.—Wed., 26. Attended Election in Boston; met with the Committee of the Baptist Education Fund, and also met with a number of ministers and Christians to form and establish a Missionary Society, which was done.

In the September number of the "Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine," published in 1803, may be found the Constitution of this pioneer Society, together with an address to the public from a Committee of the Baptist Churches in Boston. At the meeting to which Dr. Smith in his diary refers, and which was the first public meeting of the Society held, the following brethren were appointed trustees, agreeably to the Constitution then adopted, viz: Samuel Stillman, D. D., Hezekiah Smith, D. D., the Rev. Thos. Baldwin, the Rev. Joseph Grafton, the Rev. Stephen Gano, the Rev. Joel Briggs, the Rev. Valentine W. Rathbun, the Rev. Thos. Waterman, Deacon John Wait, Richard Smith, Col. Stephen Dana, and Mr. Oliver Holden. This Society thus formed had a prosperous existence of nearly a score of years, and accomplished great good. It is now merged in the "American Baptist Missionary Union," and the "American Baptist Home Mission Society."

Thurs., May 27, 1802. Left Boston and went to Elder Williams' in Wrentham.—Fri., 28. Went to Nicholas Brown's in Providence.—Sat., 29. In Providence.—Sab., 30. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house in Providence, from Mal. 2: 10 and Matt. 14: 27.—Wed., June 2. Preached a lecture in the Baptist meeting house in Providence, from 1 Pet. 3: 13.—Fri., 4. Left Providence and went to Col. Dana's in Little Cambridge.—Sab., 6. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house in Newton, from Mal. 2: 10, and Matt. 14:

27. Also in the evening at Col. Dana's in Little Cambridge, from 1 Pet. 3: 13.—Mon., 7. Went to Boston. Attended the Artillery Election Sermon, preached by Mr. Abbot, and then went to Mr. Harrison's in Charlestown.—Tues. 8. Went home.

This was the Rev. Abiel Abbot of Haverhill, who preached the usual anniversary sermon at the election of officers of the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in Boston, New England," the oldest military company in the United States. Dr. Stillman preached the anniversary sermon in 1770, and Dr. Baldwin in 1809. One of the most complete collections of these published anniversary sermons outside of Boston, is in the Library of Brown University. It was commenced by the late Hon. Theron Metcalf, LL. D., who spent so much time and money in enriching the pamphlet collections of the Library. It has been completed and continued down to the present time by Past-Commander A. A. Folsom, Esq., an active officer of the Company, and for many years the Superintendent of the Boston and Providence Railroad.

Thurs., Aug. 26. Went to Woburn.—Fri., 27. Went to Boston.—Sat., 28. Went to Charlestown.—Sab., 29. Preached two sermons in the Baptist meeting house, from Gen. 45: 26.—Mon., 30. Preached a sermon at Mr. Giles' in Attleborough, from Rev. 14: 13.—Tues., 31.—Went to Providence.—Wed., Sept. 1. Attended Commencement.—Thurs., 2. Attended the Corporation meeting.—Fri., 3, Sat., 4. In Providence.—Sab., 5. Preached two sermons in Mr. Gano's meeting house in Providence, from Jer. 31: 3, and Ps. 9: 10.—Mon., 6. Went to Attleborough to Mr. Williams'.—Tues., 7. Attended the Association. Wed., 8. Attended the Association, and in the evening preached a sermon at Pawtucket, from Eccl. 12: 13.

This is the last Commencement at which Dr. Maxcy presided, he having been elected to the presidency of Union College, Schenectady, New York. His baccalau-

reate address for this year, together with other addresses and sermons, may be found in the volume to which we have already referred, entitled "Literary Remains," etc. By Romeo Elton, D. D. At this Commencement, Henry Wheaton, the distinguished diplomatist and writer on International Law, took his bachelor's degree, and also the late John Whipple, an eminent lawyer of Providence. At the meeting of the Corporation, Dr. Maxcy's resignation was accepted, and Dr. Smith, Dr. Stillman, and Nicholas Brown were appointed a committee to wait on him and inform him of their action. The Rev. Asa Mes- ser was subsequently elected "President of the College, *pro tempore*," with a salary of seven hundred and fifty dollars, the graduation fees, and the use of the President's house and garden. Mr. Calvin Park was allowed a "salary of four hundred and twenty dollars, as Tutor and Librarian for the year ensuing."

The meeting of the Warren Association for this year was held at Wrentham, with the church of which the Rev. William Williams was pastor. The Rev. Dr. Thos. Baldwin preached a sermon at 10 o'clock in the forenoon of Tuesday, from Acts 16: 5: "And so were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily." At 2 o'clock, the Rev. Elisha Andrews, agreeably to ap- pointment, preached the introductory sermon, after which Dr. Smith was chosen Moderator, and Dr. Thos. Bald- win, Clerk. The following are extracts from the min- utes:—"On a petition presented by Mr. Solomon Howe, respecting a Spelling-Book compiled by him as one of a committee appointed by this Association in the year 1783; voted to refer the business over to our next meeting, and to request Dr. Stillman and Mr. Backus to favor us with

any information which they may have on the subject." "The Constitution of the 'Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society,' was read; and it was unanimously voted to recommend it to the churches belonging to this Association to encourage this interesting work, by raising money by subscription or otherwise, as they may think proper." The "pleasing solemn interview," the Clerk adds, closed with a sermon to the people by Brother Peak.

Thurs., Sept. 9, 1802. Went to Providence.—Fri., 10. In Providence.—Sat., 11. Went to Newport.—Sabb., 12. Preached three sermons in Mr. Bradley's meeting house in Newport, from Heb. 13: 20, 21, and Gen. 45: 28.—Tues., 14. Set out in the packet for New York, and in my passage on Friday evening like to have been run down. The deliverance of Providence was wonderful and justly claims our gratitude.—Sat., 18. Arrived at my nephew Kip's, in the city of New York. Sabb., 19. Preached a sermon in Mr. Collier's pulpit, from 1 Pet. 2: 7; and the same week at Mr. Williams', from Jer. 31: 3. Also near the State Prison, from Luke 2: 14.—Sat., 25. Left New York and went to Brother Ellison's, at White Oak Ridge.—Sabb., 26. Preached three sermons, two at Northfield meeting house, from Gen. 45: 26; and one at Brother Cook's, from Isa. 40: 1.—Mon., 27. Preached a sermon at Uriah Smith's, from Jer. 31: 3.—Tues., 28. Preached a sermon at Northfield meeting house, from Heb. 13: 20-1.—Wed., 29. Preached a sermon at Brother Ellison's, from Isa. 3: 10, 11.—Thurs., 30. Preached a sermon at Chatham, from Heb. 2: 3.—Fri., Oct. 1. Went to Scotch Plains.—Sat., 2. Preached a sermon at Samptown, from 2 Cor. 13: 5, and went to Aunt Smith's at Piscataway.—Sabb., 3. Preached two sermons in Piscataway, from John 15: 10, and 1 John 4: 8.—Mon., 4. Preached at Brunswick, from Heb. 2: 3.—Tues., 5. Went to Hopewell. Attended the Philadelphia Association there, and served as Moderator.—Wed., 6. In the evening I preached in the meeting house to a crowded assembly, from Heb. 13: 20, 21.—Thurs., 7. About 12 o'clock finished the business of the Association and dismissed them. An agreeable time we had, and parted in peace, love, and unity. In the afternoon we returned to Col. Martin's in New Brunswick.

It must have been gratifying to Dr. Smith thus to preside over the meetings of the venerable Philadelphia

Association, in the Baptist meeting house in Hopewell, where he had so often in his youth heard his beloved teacher, the Rev. Isaac Eaton, preach. And it must have been doubly gratifying to have had the people come in crowds to see and hear one of whom they might well be proud, as an early pupil and graduate of the "Hopewell Academy." At this meeting there were present, his intimate friends and associates, Samuel Jones, David Jones, John Blackwell, Thomas Ustick, William Rogers, Burgess Allison, and William Staughton. In the published minutes we find it stated that the Baptists of the United States at this time, allowing six persons in a congregation to one communicant, amounted to seven hundred thousand persons and upwards.

Fri., Oct. 8, 1802. I preached in Mr. Clark's meeting house, from Eccl. 12: 13, 14.—Sat., 9. Went to New York.—Sab., 10. I preached two sermons in Mr. Collier's meeting house, from John 5: 25, and Rev. 1: 5.—Mon., 11. I preached my farewell sermon to them, from 2 Tim. 4: 7, 8.—Tues., 12. I preached my farewell at Mr. Williams' meeting house, from Titus 3: 8.

Whether Dr. Smith preached these farewell sermons in anticipation of sickness and his approaching end, we cannot state. It is only known that this was his last visit to New York and the Jerseys.

Wed., Oct. 13. Left New York.—Thurs., 14. Arrived at Newport and set out for Providence in the afternoon. Arrived there Friday evening; a long passage.—Sab., 17. Went to Swansea to see and preach for Mr. Thompson, who was taken with bleeding at his mouth.

This was the Rev. Charles Thompson, the valedictorian of the first graduating class of Rhode Island College, and Manning's successor in the pastorate at Warren.

Mon., Oct. 18. Went to Pawtucket, and preached from John 5: 25.—Tues., 19. Went to Boston, and on the way was taken ill.—Wed., 20. Went to Mr. Bradley's in Andover.—Thurs., 21. Arrived home very ill.—Sah., 24. Preached two sermons, from John 5: 25, though the week following I was confined with illness.—Sah., 31. Preached two sermons, from Isa. 63: 1.—Mon., Nov. 1. My disorder increased, and I was confined to my chamber to the 1st of December, which is to this day, and have not been below. I feel comfortable now, and expect to go below when the weather is favorable.—Thurs., Dec. 2. From this day to the 1st of January, 1803, mostly confined to my house, although I went abroad some. My disorder raged so from the 1st of November that I was not able to preach until the 2d of January.—Sah., Feb. 6. It was so rainy that I did not go out to preach, on account of my indisposition.

The diary has frequent allusions henceforth to weakness and indisposition. He had nearly finished his life-work, and the end was fast approaching. During his confinement, when at times there was but little prospect of recovery, he enjoyed, says Dr. Stillman, great peace of mind, anticipating a speedy release from suffering and earthly care.

Wed., June 1, 1803. Went to Boston and returned by way of Salem through Beverly to Duxford.—Sat., 4. Went home.—Mon., Sept. 5. Set out for Providence and arrived there on Tuesday.—Wed., 7. Attended the Commencement.—Thurs., 8. Met with the Corporation of the College.—Fri., 9, Sat., 10. Visited some of my good friends.—Sah., 11. Preached two sermons, from Matt. 5: 20.—Mon., 12. Went to Randolph, to the Association.—Tues., 13. Preached, from Prov. 4: 7. Attended the business of the Association till Wednesday at 1 o'clock, when we finished, and after dinner went to Capt. Marshall's, in Boston.—Thurs., 15. Went home.

President Messer presided, for the first time, at this Commencement. His baccalaureate address, which is very able, is published in full in the "Documentary History of Brown University," pp. 371-5. The valo-

dictory address was given by John Reed, afterwards a tutor in the College, Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, and a member of Congress. At this Commencement was graduated also the late Philip Allen, Governor of Rhode Island, and a member of the United States Senate.

At the meeting of the Corporation Mr. John Brown, one of the "Four Brothers," who, as Treasurer, had conducted for twenty-one years the financial affairs of the College, displaying a skill in their management and a fertility in resources, for which he was distinguished in the management of his own affairs, resigned his position as a trustee. The following is his letter of resignation. The reader will not fail to notice the allusion to oratory, or, "handsome speaking," for which Presidents Manning and Maxey were specially distinguished, and which doubtless prepared the way for the Nicholas Brown Professorship:—

PROVIDENCE, TUESDAY MORNING, *Sept. 6, 1803.*

GENTLEMEN:

Finding the state of my health fast declining, which, together with my inactivity of body and long continued lameness, has rendered, and will continue to render, me a useless member of the Corporation, and wishing, as I do, that some one who may have it in his power as well as inclination to promote the welfare of the Institution should be elected in my place, I now take this early opportunity to resign my seat in the Corporation, desiring that it may be filled as your wisdom shall direct, during the present annual Commencement.

In small States like ours, where the Legislature gives but little pecuniary aid to found literary institutions or endow them, there remain, of course, greater exertions for well disposed individuals to bring to maturity such a seat of learning as we wish our College to become. But when we consider that thirty-three years only have passed since the foundations of our College edifice were laid, the progress of the Institution has not been very inconsiderable, though many impediments during that time have much retarded the wished

for increase of students. The great Revolutionary War, in which we obtained our independence, was a great stagnation to our Institution, the College edifice having been taken and applied to the use of a hospital, and for barracks for the troops, nearly one-sixth part of the whole time from its foundation to this day. This circumstance, with others, furnishes certainly sufficient motives to induce us to hope, and expect, many more patrons and promoters of literature to step forward and advance the College, under your directions. Being located in the centre of New England, and with one of the most liberal charters that has ever been granted, to warrant and secure a fair and generous equality to be extended to every religious sect, I do most sincerely recommend the promotion of its highest interests to every branch in the government of the College. And as the most beautiful and handsome mode of speaking was a principal object, to my certain knowledge, of the first friends of this College, I do wish that the Honorable the Corporation, may find means during their deliberations of this week to establish a professorship of English Oratory, and that suitable funds for the purpose may be so placed, that the annual income only can be touched for the salary pertaining to such a professorship.

I am, Gentlemen, with great regard,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN BROWN.

The Institution was incorporated by the name of "Trustees and Fellows of the College or University in the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England, in America; the Trustees and Fellows, at any time hereafter, giving such more particular name to the College, in honor of the greatest and most distinguished benefactor, or otherwise, as they shall think proper." It was in accordance with this provision of the Charter, and agreeably to the suggestions of Mr. Brown in his interesting and instructive letter that the Corporation at this meeting voted, "That the donation of five thousand dollars, if made to this College within one year from the late Commencement, shall entitle the donor to name the College." Mr. Brown died a few days after

sending to the Corporation his letter of resignation, and his place was filled the next year by the election of his son-in-law, Mr. James Brown Mason, a graduate of the College in the Class of 1791.

At the meeting of the Warren Association, Dr. Smith, as stated in the diary, delivered a discourse from Prov. 4: 7: "Wisdom is the principal thing; therefore get wisdom, and with all thy getting, get understanding." At 2 o'clock Dr. Stillman, agreeably to appointment, preached the introductory sermon, after which Dr. Stillman was chosen Moderator, and Dr. Thos. Baldwin, Clerk. The sessions were largely attended and interesting. The Circular Letter was presented by Jeremiah Chaplin, and the Corresponding Letter by Asa Messer. Three hundred copies, the minutes state, of the first number of the "Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine,"¹ of which Dr. Thos. Baldwin was the editor, were presented and instantly sold. The affairs of the "Education Society," were prominent in the discussions of the body, and generous gifts were made to the funds through Dr. Smith and Dr. Stillman.

Sab., Jan. 1, 1804. Preached two sermons, from Luke 1: 78: "Through the tender mercy of our God; whereby the dayspring from on high hath visited us."—Tues., 3. Went to Boston. Lodged at Capt. Josiah

¹ The first number of this interesting and important work was published in September, 1803, and the twelfth number, completing the first volume, in January, 1808. In the preface to the second volume, the editor, Dr. Baldwin, thus speaks of the beginnings:—"The magazine was commenced, and several numbers were published before a subscription was opened for its regular support. It was then thought that 1,000 copies of the first number would be quite sufficient;—but we soon perceived that more could be disposed of; accordingly we printed of No. II., 1,500 copies. The demand still increasing, 1,750 copies of No. III. were impressed. The number of copies was then increased to 2,000, and at length to 2,400. The first volume is completed, and not a single set remains on hand." The twelfth or concluding number of the fourth volume was published in December, 1816. It was then merged in the "American Baptist Magazine and Missionary Intelligence." Sets of this pioneer work are very rare. The Library of Brown University has two sets that are complete.

Bacon's. — Wed., 4. Preached a Lecture in Mr. Baldwin's meeting house, from Luke 1: 78. — Fri., 6. Returned home. — Mon., 23. Had the Rheumatism in my ankle. — Sab., March 4. I was very unwell, and desired Elias Smith, who was in town, to supply my pulpit, which he accordingly did. — Thurs., April 5. It being public Fast, preached two sermons, from Isa. 62: 1, and then attended the funeral of Nathaniel Bradley, aged sixty-seven. He died of a mortification. — Fri., May 25. Set out for Boston. That night lodged at Mr. Holt's, in West Boston. — Sab., 27. Preached in the forenoon in Dr. Baldwin's meeting house, from Isa. 62: 1. — Wed., 30. Attending to the Missionary Society's affairs and to the Baptist Education Fund. — Thurs., 31. Went to Haverhill. — Wed., July 11. Attended Samuel Trask's funeral. Died of a decay, aged eighty-five. — Sat., 21. Attended the funeral of Daniel Webb, who hung himself. — Mon., Sept. 3. Went to Attleborough. — Tues., 4. Went to Providence. — Wed., 5. Attended the Commencement. — Thurs., 6. Met with the Corporation of the College. — Fri., 7, Sat., 8. In Providence. — Sab., 9. Preached one sermon in the Baptist meeting house, in Providence, from John 3: 18. In the afternoon, Mr. Gano preached a funeral sermon for young Mr. Homer, who died the Friday before. — Mon., 10. Went to Boston. — Tues., 11. Attended the Baptist Association in Boston. — Fri., 14. Went home.

It was in pain and bodily weakness that Dr. Smith made this his last visit to Providence, in order to attend once more the Commencement of his loved College. Doubtless, he knew before leaving home, that on this occasion it would receive the name of Brown University, in honor of the family who had exerted themselves so nobly on its behalf, and more especially in honor of one whom he had so frequently styled in his diary, "my good friend, Nicholas Brown." The following is the letter presented to the Corporation at their meeting on Thursday:—

PROVIDENCE, Sep. 6, 1804.

GENTLEMEN:—It is known to you that I have long had an attachment to this Institution, as the place where my deceased brother, Moses, and myself received an education. This attachment derives additional strength, from the recollection that my late honored father was among

the earliest and most zealous patrons of the College; and is confirmed by my regard for the cause of literature in general. Under these impressions, I hereby make a donation of five thousand dollars to Rhode Island College, to remain in perpetuity, as a fund for the establishment of a Professorship of Oratory and Belles-Lettres. The money will be paid next Commencement, and is to be vested in such funds as the Corporation shall direct, for its augmentation to a sufficiency in your judgment to produce a competent annual salary for the within mentioned Professorship. I am very respectfully, Gentlemen, with my best wishes for the prosperity of the College,

Your obedient friend,

HON. CORPORATION OF
RHODE ISLAND COLLEGE.

NICHOLAS BROWN.

Upon the reading of this timely letter, it was unanimously voted, "That the thanks of this Corporation be presented to Mr. Nicholas Brown, for the aforesaid donation; and it is further voted, That this College be called and known in all future time, by the name of BROWN UNIVERSITY, in Providence, in the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations." It was subsequently voted, "That the Rev. Asa Messer be and he is hereby elected the President of this University." It is interesting to note the members who were present at this most important meeting. Of the Fellows, there were the President, (Messer), Dr. Smith, Dr. Stillman, the Rev. William Williams, James Brown, Esq., Dr. Peres Fobes, Dr. Solomon Drowne, Mr. Robert Rogers, and the Hon. David L. Barnes. Of the Trustees there were, the Chancellor (the Hon. Jabez Bowen), Mr. John Mason, Dr. Samuel Eddy, the Rev. John Pitman, the Rev. Stephen Gano, the Hon. Theodore Foster, Mr. Olney Winsor, Col. Christopher Olney, Mr. William Holroyd, John Dorrance, Esq., Mr. Joseph Jenckes, and Mr. John T. Childs.

It must have been with emotions of gratitude and joy,

mingled with sadness, that Dr. Smith preached once more in the beautiful and spacious house of worship erected through the personal exertions of his lamented classmate and friend Manning; realizing that he had been permitted to attend the Commencement exercises over which Messer had presided, and to witness in the action of the Corporation the crowning of his life-long hopes and labors. From its earliest beginnings during a period of forty years, he had labored and prayed for the advancement of the best interests of the College, with a zeal and energy that had never flagged. And now, as his life was rapidly drawing to a close, he had been permitted to help elect as President of Brown University, one whom he had baptized when a youth, and himself had partially educated, fitting him to enter an advanced class in the College. A new era in its history had been inaugurated; and henceforth, under the auspices of its princely benefactor, it was to flourish and eventually to rank with the older and heretofore more highly favored seats of learning.

The meeting of the Warren Association, which he also attended for the last time, was held with the Second Baptist Church, in Boston. The Rev. Stephen Gano preached the introductory sermon, after which Dr. Stillman was chosen Moderator, and Dr. Thos. Baldwin, Clerk. At this meeting, quoting from the minutes, "the Association requested to know the state of the Education Fund. The Secretary not being present, the Treasurer gave the following brief statement. That at the last annual meeting the Rev. Dr. Smith, Col. Dana, and Mr. James Harrison gave ten dollars each. Mr. Oliver Holden presented a note of one hundred dollars, and Deacon Wait one of seventy-five dollars. The interest to be paid annually. Fifty dollars have since been received from a worthy friend to this

institution, and communicated by Dr. Stillman to the treasurer. After this statement, Dr. Smith presented a letter from Nicholas Brown, Esq., of Providence, including a draft for one hundred dollars for the fund. Capt. D. Goodwin, of Charlestown, presented a note of the same amount, the interest to be paid annually. Eight dollars were also received from the Church at Harvard. Whereupon, voted, that the thanks of the Association be given to each of the gentlemen above noticed, who have so liberally contributed to our funds; and that Dr. Smith and Dr. Stillman present the same to the gentlemen whose benefactions they communicated." It was voted to hold the next Association at Warren, after which Dr. Smith concluded by prayer. "Thus terminated," adds the Clerk, "this solemn, pleasing, profitable interview; and we feel constrained to say: *Hitherto the Lord hath helped us.*"

Before closing these extracts, it may again be stated, that the diaries of Dr. Smith from the time of his settlement as a pastor, not only abound with entries relating to the catechising of the children at stated periods, but also to visits among his people. In one place the names of those whom he visited from day to day, and with whom he conversed and prayed, are given. He believed in personal individual effort, and he also believed that the hopes of the Church and of the country centered in the rising generation. Had he lived in our day, we may be sure he would have been an efficient leader in the great work of Sunday-school instruction. To these agencies, catechising and visitation, may be ascribed in part his wonderful success in Haverhill. But the end of his earthly labors was at hand. His final entries read as follows:—

Tues., Jan. 1, 1805. Wed., 2. Thurs., 3. Fri., 4. Sat., 5. Sab.,

6. Preached two sermons from John 12: 35: "Then Jesus said unto them, Yet a little while is the light with you. Walk while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you: for he that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth."—Mon., 7, Tues., 8., Wed., 9. Attended the ordination of Lucius Bolles, in Salem, and gave the Charge.¹—Thurs., 10. Married Emerson.—Fri. 11, Sat., 12. Attended the funeral of Mrs. Hazleton, aged eighty-four.—Sab., 13. Preached two sermons, from John 12: 24: "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit."—Mon., 14, Tues., 15.

His pen had made the last entry. On Thursday, Jan. 17, he was seized, like his friend Manning, with paralysis, and henceforth his voice was hushed. He spoke no more. His work on earth was ended. He lingered with imperfect consciousness, until the Thursday following, when he died, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and in the forty-second year of his ministry. Dr. Baldwin, in an obituary notice for the "Baptist Missionary Magazine," thus speaks of the funeral:—

On Thursday, Jan. 31, were interred, with every mark of respect, the remains of the Rev. Hezekiah Smith, D. D., Pastor of the Baptist Church in Haverhill, and one of the Fellows of Brown University in the State of Rhode Island.

At 2 o'clock the corpse was removed into the meeting house, when the Rev. Dr. Stillman, in a judicious and well adapted discourse, founded on Acts 13: 36, addressed a very crowded and deeply affected audience.² After the public services, the body, preceded by the Merriam Humane Society, the Fire Society, Haverhill Bridge Corporation,

¹ Dr. Stillman preached the sermon, and the Rev. Elisha Williams, of Beverly, gave the Right Hand of Fellowship. The sermon, together with charge, and hand of fellowship, were published by Manning & Loring of Boston. It is bound up with the 2d volume of the "Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine."

² Dr. Stillman himself died two years later, March 12, 1807, aged seventy. His funeral sermon was preached in the First Baptist meeting house, by the Rev. Dr. Baldwin. It is worthy of note, that both Smith and Stillman were ordained in Charleston, South Carolina, as evangelists, and that they both came from New Jersey to Massachusetts, the one preceding the other by a few months.

etc., and followed by the mourners, neighboring clergy, and a numerous procession of citizens, was conveyed to the still chambers of the dead.

Dr. Baldwin further adds:—

His labors having been peculiarly blessed to many in the town of Haverhill, a Baptist Church was formed in 1765, and Mr. Smith was invited to take the pastoral charge. Yielding to their solicitations, he was installed Nov. 12, 1766. He continued in the successful discharge of his pastoral duties, until the commencement of the American Revolution. Though engaged in this sacred office, he did not relinquish his rights as a citizen. He saw with deep concern the freedom of his country invaded, and felt too sensibly interested to remain a silent spectator. Therefore, while the storm was increasing, and the state of his country hung in awful suspense, his patriotic ardor compelled him to take a decided part. Accordingly, in 1775, he accepted an appointment as Chaplain in the army of the United States, in which service he continued, until honorably discharged in 1780. Such was his exemplary, dignified behavior, during his residence in the army, as to gain him the highest confidence and esteem of the officers, as well as the most affectionate regards of the men. Often did he expose his own life to danger in the time of battle, whilst encouraging and animating the soldiers, and in soothing the sorrows of the wounded and the dying. Having finished the term of his final engagement in the army, he returned to his beloved flock, and resumed again his pastoral functions.

From the funeral discourse of Dr. Stillman, which was published by Manning & Loring, of Boston, and a copy of which is in the Metcalf Collection of pamphlets in the Library of Brown University, we make the following extracts:—

The present affecting instance of mortality, is a loud call to us, my brethren in the ministry, to be more engaged than ever in the discharge of every duty. Our number is lessened, our labor is therefore increased. Few men have been more faithful and successful in the work of the ministry, than our worthy brother, whose remains are now before us. "He hath come to his grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in his season."

He was among the first friends of Brown University, State of Rhode Island, and traveled through various parts of our country to collect moneys for its benefit; for which service he was remarkably well fitted. To his exertions that Seminary is greatly indebted. At an early period he was chosen one of its Fellows; and he continued to act as such till his death. Sensible of his talents, his theological knowledge, and the excellence of his general character, the Fellowship unanimously conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, in 1797.

As a preacher, he was much animated; his discourses were plain and evangelical; his voice was strong, commanding, and impressive. In the knowledge of mankind, he was a great proficient, having well studied human nature. An uncommon firmness and evenness of mind marked his character, and continued with him to the last. In the family, no man exceeded him. There the softer affections were blended with just authority. The law of love and kindness was in his mouth. As a friend, he was constant and sincere. In the endearing relation of a husband, he was always tender and affectionate. To our amiable widowed friend, how great the loss. A loss that will be daily felt. His company, his advice, his prayers, his pious example, will be enjoyed no more. He shall return no more to his house, neither shall his place know him any more. But he rests from his labors, and his works follow him. He is, we doubt not, where he often longed to be. Could he now address the partner of his life, would he not say to her, "If ye loved me ye would rejoice, because I go to my Father?" To her we wish every divine support, and a heart wholly resigned to the will of God; who does not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men.¹

The discourses which Dr. Smith delivered on his final appearance in the pulpit, were, it is said, unusually impressive; and they were followed by a revival of religion, to which they seemed introductory. His son Jonathan K., with his amiable companion, who were present upon the occasion, were among those who dated their conversion back to these discourses. In the afternoon especially, says Dr. Stillman, the preacher "was uncommonly en-

¹ Mrs. Smith survived her husband many years. She died Dec. 9, 1824, greatly beloved and lamented. Although not a member of the church, she was a generous contributor to its funds, and her life abounded in deeds of mercy.

gaged and persuasive; and appeared unwilling to leave off, as though he thought it would be his last sermon. He wept over lost sinners, and laid before them their awful danger, as well as the only remedy through Jesus Christ." He concluded the solemn services of the day, by reading with tender pathos the one hundred and forty-sixth Psalm, from Dr. Watts' Version, beginning:—

I'll praise my Maker with my breath;
And when my voice is lost in death,
Praise shall employ my nobler powers:
My days of praise shall ne'er be past,
While life, and thought, and being last,
Or immortality endures.

His final resting place is in the beautiful Linwood Cemetery, in the midst of the scenes of his earthly labors, and in sight of the flowing Merrimack, the waters of which he first consecrated by baptisms. There a simple monument has been erected to his memory. **REQUIESCAT IN PACE.**

The following particulars respecting his character and habits, from the facile pen of Dr. Baldwin, who had known him intimately for twenty years, will be welcomed by our readers, although they repeat, in part, what has already been stated throughout these pages:—

As a preacher, Dr. Smith was equaled by few. His subjects were always well chosen, and always evangelical. His voice was strong and commanding, and his manner solemn and impressive. He was often led to pour the balm of consolation into the wounded conscience, but the general tenor of his preaching was calculated to arouse the careless and secure.

In stature, Dr. Smith was considerably above the middling size, being about six feet in height, and well proportioned. His countenance, though open and pleasant, was peculiarly solemn and majestic.

In his deportment, he was mild, dignified, and grave, equally distant from priestly hauteur, and superstitious reserve. He never thought religion incompatible with real politeness; hence the gentleman, the scholar, and the Christian were happily blended in his character. And such was the urbanity of his manners, that many who differed from him in his religious opinions, honored and respected him as a gentleman and companion. While the wicked were awed by his presence, it was impossible for a good man to be in his company without being pleased and edified. In a word, he lived beloved and respected, and died greatly lamented.

We close with the following tribute from the pen of a Congregationalist, the Rev. Dr. Laban Clark, of Middletown, Connecticut. It is in the form of a letter, and is addressed to the late W. B. Sprague, D. D., who published it in his "Annals of the American Pulpit":—

My parents were born in the vicinity of Haverhill, where he was a settled pastor, but migrated in early life, with the first settlers, to the Coos country, on the Connecticut River, some time before the Revolutionary War. In their religious views and attachments they were decided Congregationalists, but they entertained a high regard for Dr. Smith, and, in my boyhood, I often heard them speak of him, both as a man and a minister, in terms of high commendation. Dr. Smith occasionally visited that country. I remember hearing him preach in our parish church, when I was about eighteen years of age. The two congregations (Congregational and Baptist) came together; for all were desirous of hearing him. Though I was, at that time, a stranger to the power of religion, I well recollect that I was much interested in the appearance of the man, and highly delighted with his eloquence.

In the fall of 1800, when I was about entering the ministry, I made a visit to my relatives in Haverhill and its vicinity, among whom was my father's youngest sister, a member of Dr. Smith's church. She was a devoted Christian, and, as might be expected, warmly attached to her excellent pastor. I was gratified to learn from her that the Doctor's fame was as good at home as it was abroad; and that, after a ministry of more than thirty years, his popularity and usefulness among his people remained undiminished. I availed myself of this opportunity of hearing him in his own church. When I arrived at the

place of worship, the younger members were just concluding a prayer-meeting; and the house seemed hallowed with the divine presence. I took my seat, not only as a willing worshiper, but with an earnest desire to learn, if possible, the secret of the great popularity and unusual success of the preacher to whom I was to listen.

The Doctor soon entered the pulpit—a man of venerable appearance and stately form—robust, but not corpulent; his locks white as wool; his eyebrows retaining their natural dark hue; his face full and fair, bearing almost the flush of youth, and beaming with intelligence and good-will; and his manner grave and dignified, and well befitting the office of an ambassador of God.

He commenced the public service, after the usual form, with singing and prayer. The prayer was solemn, devout, comprehensive, and did not exceed six or eight minutes. He then announced his text; and, after a brief introduction, passed on to the exposition, which was clear, concise, and full, while his illustrations were uncommonly natural and appropriate. His composition was chaste and manly, and his delivery earnest and impassioned. The sermon occupied about thirty minutes; at the close of which he went off, for ten minutes more, into a highly impressive exhortation; and then concluded with an affecting prayer of about three minutes. The entire service did not exceed fifty minutes, and the congregation seemed to hang upon his lips, with eager attention, to the last, and left the church with a good relish for more.

While I was edified and delighted with the service, I was at no loss as to the secret of the uncommon success which attended his ministry.¹ While he labored to keep his own heart imbued with the spirit of his Master, he fed, not glutted, his flock with the sincere milk of the word; not exhausting his subject, nor yet the patience of his hearers. I considered him a model preacher; and during my own ministry of fifty years, I have never lost sight of his admirable manner of conducting the services of the sanctuary.

Dr. Smith's superior talents and accomplishments, his remarkably well-balanced character, and untiring devotion to his work, undoubtedly placed him among the most prominent ministers of his day. Not by his own communion only, but by all evangelical denominations, he was held in the highest respect while he lived, and was tenderly and reverently mourned for, when his earthly labors were ended.

¹ During Dr. Smith's pastorate in Haverhill, three hundred and five persons were admitted to the church, including the original members, nearly all of whom he himself baptized.

Dr. Smith studiously avoided historical notoriety. His journals, as the reader can hardly have failed to observe, were written solely for his private use, with no intention whatever of publication. Aside from these, he left no continuous record of his life. None of his special sermons or patriotic addresses were ever printed, or even written out in full. He would not allow a painter to delineate his features on canvas, so modest was he, and so desirous of avoiding public attention. No genuine portrait of him therefore can accompany the present volume. The "Life, Journals, Letters, and Addresses" must alone represent the illustrious CHAPLAIN OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

FINIS.

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Nixon, and in accordance with a vote of his church, 184, 185; letters to his wife, 186-187; decides to accompany the American Army to New York, in accordance with the request of the field officers and others, 187; marches into Boston with the army, March 20, 1776, the British having that morning evacuated the town, 182; insensible to fear; believes that every bullet has a commission, 174; Friday, March 29, commences the march to New York under command of Gen. Sullivan, 175; visits Manning at Providence, and his family in the Jerseys, 176; duties of a chaplain, 176; addresses a letter on religious subjects to his former commanding officer, Brig. Gen. Sullivan, 177, 178; attends a great religious meeting at Piscataqua, New Jersey, 179; letters to his wife, 180-181; moves with his regiment from the Bowery to Governor's Island, 183; impending gloom, 183; studies anatomy and medicine, 184; diarrhea prevalent in the army; Smith sick, and obliged to spend a month in New Jersey; the disastrous battle of Long Island fought during his absence, 185, 186; returns to camp and has charge of the sick and wounded, 186-188; returns home on a furlough, and preaches to a thronged and expectant congregation, 188; copy of his Commission as Chaplain, 189; list of Brigade Chaplains in 1778, found among the Smith papers, 191; June 17, 1777, sets out again for the army, 192; takes lodgings with Gen. Nixon at Peekskill, 195; embarks for Albany, and then proceeds to Saratoga, 196; recapitulates in his diary the movements of the army from July 22, 1777, to Aug. 14, 1778; profanity of Gen. Schuyler, 199; reasons for his unpopularity with the New England troops, 200, 201; Chaplain acts as Aid-de-camp and has charge of the sick and wounded, 198; sends to his wife Burgoyne's Instructions to Lieut. Col. Baum, 202; letter to his wife; going up the river to meet Mr. Burgoyne, 204; Gates' army orders found among the Smith papers, 206-222; preaches to the officers and soldiers on the Lord's Day preceding the great battle of Stillwater, 207; statement in his diary respecting this battle, 209; statement respecting the second great battle of Stillwater, 218; present with Gates at the surrender of Burgoyne, 222, 223; memoranda found among the Smith papers, 223, 224; remains in Albany after the surrender, 225; furlough for four months, 225; returns home, 226; address on the anniversary of the surrender of Burgoyne, delivered in camp, Sunday, Oct. 17, 1779, 222-236; conquest at Stillwater and Saratoga, "the grandest

conquest ever gained since the creation of the world," 227; home on a furlough, 229, 237; sets out for the army; Providence and Manning, New Fairfield and Gano, 237; visits West Point, 238; preaches to Major General Putnam's regiment, 239; Chaplain Avery, White Plains, Chatterton's Hill, North Castle, 239; preaches to the Baptist Church in Stamford, 239; attends condemned criminals to their place of execution, 240; goes the rounds on parade in presence of the Commander-in-Chief, with whom he afterwards dines, 240; preaches to his brigade, with Washington for a hearer, 240; attends the execution of a criminal, and delivers an address to the army on the occasion, 241; exchanges with Chaplain Hitchcock, 241; first anniversary of the surrender of Burgoyne; preaches to his brigade, 242; sets out for Haverhill in company with Gen. Nixon, 242; at home on a six months' furlough, 243-247; family sick with the small-pox, 243; preaches on occasion of Continental Thanksgiving, 244; addresses a communication to his Society respecting arrangements of salary, 245-247; sets out again for the army, 248; goes to Gen. Nixon's quarters at Tolla Burgh, on the North River; preaches two sermons on the occasion of Continental Fast; visits his relatives in the Jerseys, 248; writes to Gen. Gates respecting the surrender of Stony Point and Verplanck's Point, 250; addresses the army, 251; observes St. John's Day at West Point, and hears Dr. Hitchcock deliver a Masonic discourse, 253; reads Edwards on the Will, 253; attends daily prayers with his brigade, 254; moves to Continental Village, 256; delivers an address to the army on profanity, 256-258; dines with Gen. Heath, goes to West Point, and preaches to his brigade in the Highlands, 258; marches with his brigade to Bedford, where he encamps, 260; writes to Dean Tyler, of Haverhill, 260, 261; Chaplain Vanhorn preaches to his brigade, 261; second anniversary of the surrender of Burgoyne; preaches to his brigade from Isa. 26: 8, 262; visits West Point, receives his pay, and dines with Washington, 262; attends the execution of a condemned criminal, 263; returns to Haverhill, 263; home on a furlough, 264-268; attends town meetings to approve of a new Constitution for the State; opposes Article III. of the Bill of Rights, 265-267; sets out for the army for the last time, 268; writes to his wife, 268, 269; treason of Gen. Arnold, and the execution of Major Andre, 269-273; preaches a sermon to the First Massachusetts Brigade on the occasion, 273-281; resigns his commis-

sion as Chaplain and returns home, 281; arrives at Haverhill in the latter part of October, 1780, and preaches to his people the first Sunday after his return, from Isa. 54: 7, 282; enters upon his pastoral work with renewed zeal, 283; preaches two sermons in his pulpit on the occasion of a Continental Fast, 244; constitutes a branch of the Haverhill Church in Rowley, 286; farming operations, 286; receives a visit from Mrs. Nicholas Brown, 287; death of his youngest son, Peter, 287; preaches a thanksgiving discourse on the occasion of the surrender of Cornwallis, at Yorktown, 288; repairs his school-room and begins his school, 290; visits Providence and attends (1782) the meeting of the Corporation of Rhode Island College, 291; visits Newport, 291; attends the meeting of the Warren Association in Providence, 295; birth of his only daughter Rebecca, 297; accustomed to preach preparatory sermons on Friday previous to the observance of the Lord's Supper, 298; visits Providence (1783) and attends Commencement, 299; birth and death of his infant son, James, 300; attends the meetings of the New Hampshire Association with great regularity, 301; attends in 1783 the meeting of the Warren Association in Medfield, 301; visits his relatives in New Jersey, and is absent from home six weeks, 303; attends the meeting of the Philadelphia Association, and meets President Manning, 304; meets with the Baptist Committee on Grievances, 304; visits Providence with reference to a supply of the Baptist pulpit in Manning's absence, 305; attends the opening of the new bridge over Charles River in 1786, 307; takes his eldest son to College and attends Commencement, 308; attends the meeting of the Warren Association at Newton; reads the Circular Letter, 310, 311; sets out on a preaching tour in Maine and New Hampshire, 312, 313; preaches two sermons on Fast Day, having reference to Shay's Rebellion, 313; attends Commencement at Providence in 1787, 315; visits Gen. Varnum at East Greenwich, 316; sets out on a missionary tour in New Hampshire and Vermont, 316, 317; assists at the installation of the Rev. Thos. Gair, 317; prepares Asa Measer for College, 318; attends the New Hampshire Association at Stratham, 319; receives donation visit from his people, 319; attends Commencement at Providence in 1789, 320; visits in New York and New Jersey, 320; visits Providence and conducts a series of revival meetings, 321; makes a second visit, 322; receives a visit from the Rev. Stephen Gano,

322; attends Commencement at Providence in 1790, 323; attends the meeting of the Warren Association at Harvard, 324; attends the funeral of Gov. Bowdoin in Boston, 325; assists at the installation of the Rev. Thos. Baldwin, 325; attends the New Hampshire Association at Kingston, 326; receives information of the death of Nicholas Brown, John Jenckes, and President Manning, 326; attends Commencement at Providence in 1791, 327; assists in the ordination of Jonathan Maxcy, 329; attends the meeting of the Warren Association at New Rowley, 330; death of Manning serves to increase rather than diminish his zeal for the College, 332; particular and minute in his daily records, 333; attends Commencement in 1792; visits the Jerseys in company with his wife, 335; attends the funeral of Deacon Shepard, 335; attends the New Hampshire Association at Northwood, 336; attends the Commencement for 1793, 337; attends the meeting of the Warren Association in Attleborough, 337, 338; goes to Concord and redeems his right of land sold for taxes; sends his son Jonathan to the Academy at Atkinson, 338; attends the Commencement for 1794, 339; attends the funeral of the Rev. John Shaw, of Haverhill, 339; attends the Commencement for 1795, 341; attends the Warren Association at Bridgewater, 341; attends the installation of the Rev. John Peak, at Newtown, New Hampshire, 341; attends the Commencement for 1796, 342; attends the dedication of a Baptist meeting house in Cumberland, 342; owner of stores and houses in Haverhill, 344; chosen Vice-President of the Proprietors of Haverhill Bridge, 344; makes another missionary tour to New Hampshire and Vermont, 345; unwell, 346; attends the Commencement for 1797, and has conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, 346, 347; attends the meeting of the Warren Association in Boston, 347, 348; attends the marriage of his son Jonathan, 348, 349; attends the Commencement for 1798, 349, 350; assists in the installation of the Rev. Elias Smith, 350; attends the Commencement for 1799, 351; attends the Warren Association at Middleborough, and is chosen moderator, 352; commemorates the death of General Washington, 353; attends the New Hampshire Association at Brentwood, preaches the sermon, and acts as moderator, 353; attends the Commencement at Providence, and also the Warren Association; is chosen moderator, 354; attends the funeral of his father-in-law, Gideon Tyler; also the funeral of Capt. Greenleaf; preaches

especial sermons for the close of the year 1800, and the beginning of the year 1801, 355; writes Mr. Duncan's will; attends the Commencement for 1801, 357; attends the Warren Association at Sutton, and is chosen moderator, 357; Nicholas Brown and his newly married wife spend a fortnight beneath his hospitable roof in Haverhill, 358; attends the funeral of Joseph Bradley, in Andover, 358; assists in forming and establishing the Baptist Missionary Society, 359; visits Nicholas Brown in Providence, preaches in the Baptist meeting house, and on his return attends the Artillery Election Sermon in Boston, 359, 360; attends the Commencement for 1802, and also the Warren Association in Wrentham; is chosen moderator, 360, 361; visits for the last time his friends in New York and New Jersey; preaches in the Baptist meeting house in Hopewell, presides as moderator over the Philadelphia Association, and preaches farewell sermons in New York, 362, 363; visits the Rev. Charles Thompson at Swansey, 363; sickness and confinement; enjoys a great peace of mind, anticipating a speedy release from suffering, 364; attends the Commencement for 1803, over which Messer presides for the first time, 364; attends the meeting of the Warren Association at Randolph, and delivers a discourse, 364-365; preaches a New Year's sermon, attends the funeral of Nathaniel Bradley, and attends a meeting of the Missionary Society in Boston, 366; attends, in pain and bodily weakness, his last Commencement; also the meeting of the Corporation when Rhode Island College is named Brown University, in honor of "his good friend Nicholas Brown," and Asa Messer, his early pupil, whom he had baptized, is elected the President; preaches with emotions of sorrow and gladness once more in the beautiful house of worship erected through the influence of his friend and early classmate, Manning, 366-370; attends for the last time the meeting of the Warren Association; presents a draft of one hundred dollars from Nicholas Brown, for the Education Fund, and concludes the exercises by prayer, 370, 371; habits of catechizing the children and of visiting his people, 371; preaches his last sermons, and makes his last entry in his diary, sickness, death and funeral, 372; Dr. Baldwin's sketch of his character and life, 373; extract from Dr. Stillman's funeral discourse, 373, 374; Dr. Smith's last discourses in his pulpit unusually impressive, and followed by a revival of religion, 374, 375; additional particu-

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- SMITH, Hephzibah Kimball, wife of Hezekiah, and daughter of Mrs. Eudon Gideon Tyler, of Roxford, 149, 150; owned land in Roxford and in Atkinson, 152, 245; references to, 150, 173, 248, 337, 336, 337; survived her husband many years; not a member of the church; died Dec. 9, 1824, greatly beloved and lamented, 149, 374.**
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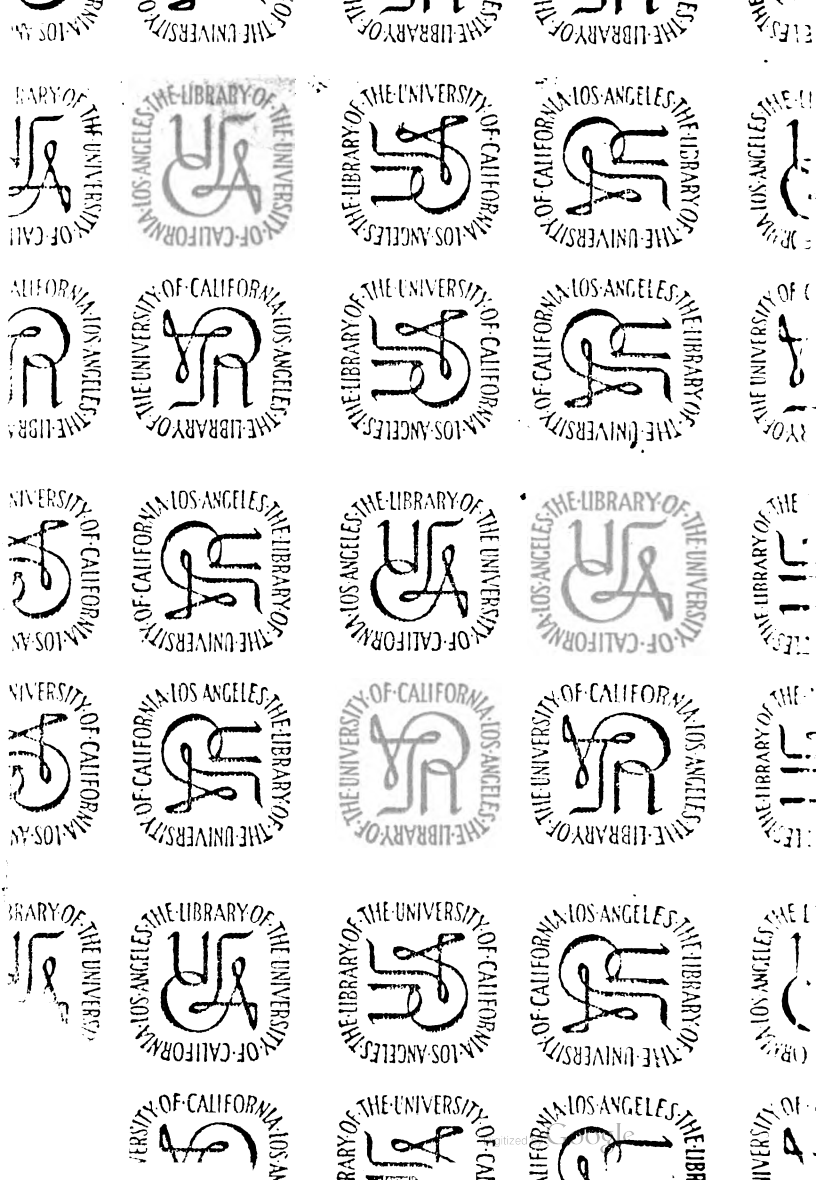
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